THE VIABILITY OF PERCEPTUAL ANALYSIS IN PREDICTING SOCIAL IMPACTS - A CASE STUDY

DAVID ALEKSANDER PRIILAID

MASTERS 1993

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN
DEPARTMENT OF ENVIRONMENTAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL SCIENCE

THE VIABILITY OF PERCEPTUAL ANALYSIS IN PREDICTING SOCIAL IMPACTS - A CASE STUDY

DAVID ALEKSANDER PRIILAID

MASTERS 1993

THE VIABILITY OF PERCEPTUAL ANALYSIS IN PREDICTING SOCIAL IMPACTS - A CASE STUDY

DAVID ALEKSANDER PRIILAID

Research report submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for a Masters of Science Degree in Environmental and Geograpghical Science, University of Cape Town.

September 1993

ABSTRACT

While no one impact is identical to the next, the case of the University of Cape Town's purchase and take-over of two local flat complexes; Forest Hills and Liesbeek Gardens; represented a unique opportunity to compare two impacts analogous in all respects but time. Because one impact had already occurred and the other had not yet begun, the accuracy of social impact predictions could thereby be assessed.

Through the use of self-administered questionnaires, the local perceptions of Forest Hills and local cognitions of Liesbeek Gardens were drawn out and compared. So doing, this study concludes that perceptions of potential impact show little correspondence to the actuality of such an impact should it occur without intervening mitigatory initiatives. Since pro-active planning procedures rely to a large degree on the accuracy of impact prediction, such findings suggest strategic flaws within the analytical framework of Social Impact Assessment.

Included within the more qualitative findings of this report are recommendations as to how the conflict stemming from these impacts might be resolved.

****

DEDICATION

TO JENNIFER PRIILAID

31 March 1944
29 June 1986

*****

But soon we shall die and all memory of those five will have left the earth, and we ourselves shall be loved for a while and forgotten. But the love will have been enough; and all those impulses of love return to the love that made them. There is a land of the living and the land of the dead, and the bridge is love, the only survival, the only meaning.

Nicholas Gage

*****

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In the process that spanned the time between the initial conception of this research endeavour and its final documentation, there have been many, many people who, in different and special ways, have given me much in the way of advice and understanding; encouragement and the belief in self. The following list of persons is therefore incomplete, but is written in sincere acknowledgement of my indebtedness to them all.

* Dr Neil Dewar, my supervisor, friend and devil's advocate who afforded me the benefit of his considerable knowledge and experience - and whose concern for logic and detail induce me to think, and then to think again.

* Professor Ron Davies, Chair of Geography, who introduced me to "underpinnings" and "modes of production" - and who taught me more, much more, than he will ever know.

* All the staff, past and present, of UCT's Environmental and Geographical Science Department, especially my friends, Dr Mike Meadows, Dr Belinda Dodson, Dr Roy Ballantyne and Ms Sandra Fouwlkes and Ms Margot van Niewenhuizen.

* Donald D, my main man, my bridge partner and for the purposes of this research, my statistical advisor too: for all your time, effort, and the use of your intimidating mathematical mind, my many thanks.

* Theunis Roux - for your critical insights, encouragement and understanding.

* My typist and cartographer, Tamzin and Aubrey respectively, for all your patience and all your care.

* My firm, Steyn du Plessis Development Consultants, for giving me the time off when I needed it.

* The financial assistance afforded me by the Human Sciences Research Council is also hereby acknowledged.

* The Masters of the Universe: Tony, Rob, Mike and Greg, as well as all my other friends, especially Sonja, Werner, Barry, Phillip, Simon, Ally and Craig - for all that you give me; for all of what you are.

* Lucy Rose who may never again stare unflinchingly into the face of a computer screen.

* Dave Hart, my priest, my trusted friend and drinking partner - for the laughter and the sorrow and the will to see it all through, I can never thank you enough.

* Yogi de Beer, my true companion. Thanks for the computer and the good times too.

* My Father, for his love.

* Gillian Hope who helped me carry on; who believes in me.

******

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF MAPS

MAP PAGE

LIST OF APPENDICES

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This study focuses on one of the most important methodological pillars of Social Impact Assessment (SIA), "Perceptual Analysis. " The central theme is *whether the perception*[1] *or expectation of a potential social impact generally corresponds with the actual cognition of such an impact should it occur without intervening mitigatory influences*[2]. If no correspondence exists, then the use of Perceptual Analysis in predicting and mitigating against such impacts is ill-conceived. Although such a finding would not threaten the validity of Social Impact Assessment as a multi-faceted means of anticipating some potential consequences of development, it would, it shall be argued, pose critical questions as to the viability of employing Perceptual Analysis as a technique within SIA.

This chapter seeks first to introduce SIA as an approach aimed at addressing the consequences of development on society, and in so doing, aims to outline the role that Perceptual Analysis plays within it. Thereafter, the nature of the above-mentioned problem is identified, and the context of its testing ground - the University of Cape Town (UCT) owned flat-complexes of Forest Hills and Liesbeek Gardens - is then sketched.

A formal presentation of this study's primary aims and subsidiary objectives, and a synopsis of the structure of this report concludes the chapter.

****

1 For the purposes clarity, "perception" may for the time being be defined as meaning that which is "expected". Defined thus, when referring to "perception of an impact", it is the nature of the expected impact which is being inferred. (A detailed account of Perceptual Analysis is presented in section seven of Chapter Two.)

2 For the sake of avoiding confusion in terminology, it is important at this stage to introduce the concept of "*cognition*". Like "perception", this term shall be defined specifically even though alternative definitions might exist. For the purposes of this study, "cognition" shall be used to connote a degree of experience of an achieved fact. The "cognition of impact" shall be taken concomitantly to refer to the mental interpretation of one's *experience* of an impact as it has *already* occurred.

1.1 THE CONTEXT OF SOCIAL IMPACT ASSESSMENT

> A decade of thinking and writing on the urban process points to a reformation. I now ask, how does capital become urbanized, and what are the consequences of that urbanization? The answer to that question has, I submit, profound implications. (Harvey, 1989, 17)

David Harvey's question is an important one, for while one should acknowledge from the outset that the urban framework is but one (albeit major) constituent of the wider capitalist process of infrastructural, institutional and economic development (Mabogunje 1980), it should be clear that it is within this framework that the consequences of development are most profoundly experienced. In most urban space economies, such consequences (or impacts as they shall be termed) will arise most usually through the instance of land-use zoning or the allocation of a scarce urban resource to one area and not another (Badcock, 1984). Although these developmental impacts can take on a political, social, economic, or psychological character, in most cases, the effect is usually experienced as a combination of these.

If the possible impacts of a proposed development, such as a freeway, a shopping centre or a housing scheme, are perceived by potentially affected parties to be sufficiently severe, long and protracted conflicts will often ensue. That such developmental conflicts can be costly, acrimonious and even violent, is well documented. In such instances, the developers, for example, may frequently incur costly time delays, and funding agencies, if involved, may face charges of nepotism or of fostering unwelcome forms of social engineering. State authorities may frequently incur a damaging loss of political credibility. Most acutely affected however, are the neighboring communities, which, through threats to themselves and to their local environments, may often find themselves frustrated, intimidated, divided, angry, and even prone to violence. In all such cases these communities will perceive their cause to be legitimate, and in many cases they are: while on a regional or metropolitan level, many people may benefit from the end project, its costs - in terms of disruption to the community, amenity value and potential risk - will be borne solely by the few who happen to live near it.

In 1973, one such conflict emerged in the inner Sydney suburb of Kings Cross, where residents mobilised to stop evictions and to contest a high rise development scheme that would have

destroyed a significant portion of valued architectural landmarks in the area. At one of the protest meetings, the Nobel prize winner for literature that year, the Australian, Patrick White, opened his address to the gathering with the following statement:

> What seems to me to be overlooked continually by those who plan building development is the reaction of the ones who are most closely affected by the development - the human beings who are to be disposed of like sheep or cattle (White, 1992, *35).*

What White was voicing was an increasing concern that in the face of planned development, people and their places are generally helpless and therefore need to be protected from the negative consequences that can ensue. The necessary protection, White argued further, can only occur if impacts arising from the location, scaling, construction and functioning of capital investments are better understood and more effectively managed.

In the twenty years that have followed, buoyed by an ever-growing social concern for the built environment and armed with a limited though increasing body of protectionary legislation, an ever-growing group of socially orientated environmental specialists have been actively involved in SIA as a new profession aimed at achieving exactly this. The evolution of SIA has been intermittent and varied, moving from one orientation to another according to the circumstances of the socio-political moment (Bisset, 1988). Numerous mistakes have been made over these two decades, but much has also been learnt. Through this continuous self-correcting process, SIA has become not so much a discipline, but a *multi-dimensional approach* aimed at determining "the impacts on the day-to-day quality of life of persons and communities whose environment is affected by development" (Burdge, 1991, 3). So doing, the Social Impact Assessor might need to adopt a variety of roles. These could range from social scientist and issues analyst to arbitrator and conflict manager (Taylor, Bryan & Goodrich, 1990). While definitions of SIA do vary, perhaps the most comprehensive comes from Thompson & Williams (1986), who suggest that:

> ... the dominant role of the SIA practitioner is not to add credibility to projects or to legitimize actions of project sponsors, but to analyze probable impacts, facilitate public involvement in the planning process, assist potentially affected parties to be involved in mitigation negotiation processes, and to ensure that legitimate and effective processes are used in negotiating and decision-making (Thompson & Williams, 1986, 65).

As the above authors note, one of the important tasks of SIA is "to analyze probable impacts" that might arise from a proposed project. Such an analysis, one might assume, should be a reasonably straightforward task, but this is not necessarily the case. Closer inspection reveals that impact prediction has at least two inherent problems.

The first is a temporal problem: with the ongoing passage of time, the degree of probable impact becomes increasingly difficult to determine (Culhane, Firiesima & Beecher, 1986; De Jongh, 1988). Secondly, a problem occurs when impacts are associated with demographic changes rather than a particular change in land-use. In such cases impacts tend to be less tangible and harder to quantify, thus making accurate prediction all that more difficult (Quinlan & Zingel, 1991).

1.2 PERCEPTUAL ANALYSIS IN SOCIAL IMPACT ASSESSMENT

The uncertainty and relative "intangibility" of social impact prediction has become an increasing source of concern for those working in SIA, and considerable effort has been directed towards this problem (De Jongh, 1988). It has been posited by some working in the field that uncertainty can be considerably reduced by analysing common concerns through the study of local perceptions that surround an impact (Hyman & Stiftel, 1988, and Uzzel, 1982).

In the field of Environmental Impact Assessment, the term "perception" appears to be used fairly loosely. Most generally, perception is understood to describe a process whereby a perceiver relates or forecasts the possible consequences of a certain development (Culhane, Friesema & Beecher, 1986). Unlike other disciplines which might focus on a perceiver's external stimulus, in environmental work, the emphasis of perception study is not on the present - but on the future. To outsiders not possibly aware of this temporal emphasis within the discipline, Perceptual Analysis can become a confusing if not contentious mode of enquiry.

By the same token however, psychologists and sociologists may also differ in their working definitions of perception. Such diversity of opinion should therefore not be seen as unusual. As

van Deventer (1992) points out, the study of perceptions has lead to numerous interdisciplinary differences of interpretation. This confusion

> poses problems for both student and teacher. While the former must be prepared to do some hard work, the latter is faced with the difficult task of guiding the student through often unmapped territory (Van Deventer, 1992, 55).

In acknowledging such diversity of material and therefore the potential for such confusion, an exploration of this territory will be pursued here only in so far as it enhances an appreciation of those debates relating specifically to the study at hand.

The utility of Perceptual Analysis lies in its concern with analysing the perceptions that different affected parties have of an envisaged development. If implemented at a stage when the proposed development can be easily modified, perceptual analysis can therefore assist the assessor in the early identification and proactive management of the negative impacts envisaged by the variously affected parties. In such a way, perceptual analysis can also be used to identify and enhance potentially positive impacts. It is through such involvement, therefore, that project planners can gauge the local impressions and perceptions of a potential social impact and thereby gain much impact-specific information that otherwise might not be known (Tomlinson, 1984).

Although the role of perceptual analysis as a forecasting tool is seldom explicitly acknowledged in environmental studies, the fact that it also provides a major rationale for the so-called "*scoping*" component of any impact assessment (Beanlands, 1986) is well acknowledged. Scoping, in its broadest sense, is a democratic procedure, implying some form of public involvement in the development process. If assessment planners are sensitive to the fears and concerns of local residents, timeous consultative procedures can do much to allay these fears. That scoping should not simply become a procedure to be exercised for the benefit of the planner is also important. Scoping should be a two-way process, aimed also at enabling the affected communities to understand, assist in, and thereby *own* the development process. People are much more willing to accept decisions affecting them if they have played a part in formulating them (YAP, 1990).

The recently drafted document on South Africa's environmental management guidelines (known as Integrated Environmental Management or IEM) implicitly affirms the accountability of development planners to locally affected parties (Fuggle et al., 1992). Importantly, it also points out that while "[o]ne of the major tasks of scoping is to identify issues which are of concern to ... interested and affected parties", another equally important task is to "gain some indication of the importance of these issues" (Fuggle et al., 1992, 24).

It is through this second and more analytical task that those issues perceived to be important by interested and potentially affected parties can be ranked and integrated into the shaping of the development proposal. Numerous approaches and methodologies are available to do this, each applicable to certain contexts, each with their own merits and shortcomings (Fuggle & Shopley, 1984). Through the application of these various techniques, the impact assessor should be able to account for and evaluate the importance of each potential impact. In such a manner, an overall assessment of a development's potential impact is achieved and thereafter documented in what is conventionally known as an Environmental Impact Report (or EIR). This impact assessment will ultimately determine the environmental feasibility of a proposed project. The resultant decision of whether or not to go ahead with the project is also recorded in the report.

In richer, industrialised countries like the United States, where interest in so-called "Green" issues is particularly strong, the final decision on whether to proceed with a proposed project will depend largely on the findings of a legal document called an Environmental Impact Report. Because of the nature of the American legal system, this decision will be either yes or no, with little room for negotiation (Clark, 1978). Within developing countries such as South Africa however, the decision is not as clear-cut as the typical first-world yes/no verdict (Fuggle, 1990). This is for two reasons. Firstly, the environmental legislation of most developing countries does not address enviro-developmental issues in a meaningful way (Schweizer, 1985). Secondly, in under-developed situations where the imperative to develop one's natural resources is as important as the need to conserve them, the final assessment decision will more often than not involve a compromise that steers between these two imperatives of conservation and development.

Regardless of the socio-political context, it is important to appreciate that the final environmental assessment report should act merely as a reflection or a documentary metaphor of the underlying assessment process. This being the case, one would expect the validity of such a report to be dependent upon the process from which it was derived. Put differently, it should be assumed that if the preceding assessment process and its underlying theoretical considerations are flawed, then so too would be the final decision of whether and how to proceed with the proposed project.

The relationship between assessment input and assessment outcome can be extrapolated further, for there appears to be a definite inter-dependency between perceptual analysis and scoping, and between scoping and overall impact assessment. It should, however, be made explicit at this stage that Perceptual Analysis is by no means the only approach to identifying and assessing impacts. Empirically derived data relating to the demography of potentially affected communities can also assist in the assessment of potential impacts - as can the statistical projections of relevant property values and municipal rates (Burdge, 1991). Together with Perceptual Analysis, tools such as these provide a valid means of gauging and acting in accordance with the significance of an envisaged development. This said, Perceptual Analysis *can* prove to be a determining instrument of impact assessment, and this is the crux of this research study - for if one is attempting to critique the assessment process, a critique of this central methodology provides a logical means to do so.

Underscoring this somewhat narrowly defined critique of Perceptual Analysis is of course an attendant though far wider criticism to be levelled at SIA. This criticism is structural in its nature and relates to SIA's alignment with more typically neo-classical and technocratic approaches to Environmental Impact Assessment. As Formby (1991, 191) succinctly points out, these approaches are usually associated "with a heavy bias towards examining the impacts of proposals on the natural environment, with a matching neglect of social impacts." In South Africa, the consequential paucity of social and political concern within the body of environmental assessment has also been noted (Scott & Diab, 1988 and McCarthy & Smit,

1984). McCarthy & Smit, (1984), are particularly critical in this regard, arguing that from the neo-classical perspective,

> there appears to be a conscious attempt to depoliticize the planning process by theorizing it as an essentially technical process in which the planner's function is to find and implement ways of improving everybody's welfare. Planning is perceived in this literature as an activity somehow apart from the hurly-burly of popular participation, pressure and conflict of urban politics. ...*[A]s soon as the pursuit of social improvements in the public interest* is conducted in terms of evaluative criteria other than pareto efficiency (such as the use of Rawlsian criteria) questions immediately arise as to whether planners have the power to implement such improvements. This reveals a major weakness in the neo-classical perspective, namely, *its inability to say anything about the way in which power is mobilized and brought to bear in the planning process* (McCarthy & Smit, 1984, 126, emphasis added).

Such criticism would argue further that, when applying the technocratic mindset to the assessment of social impacts, the attendant assumptions embedded within the epistemological basis of such thinking do not enable it to appreciate the more qualitative aspects of those human relations under study. While not doubting the integrity of this mindset, such assessments generally tend to display, as Mc Carthy & Smit (1984) imply, an ideographic and mechanistic grasp of urban reality. Based on an inadequate conceptualization of the problem at hand, the resultant assessment conclusions can often be spurious and incomplete.

In the light of this thoroughgoing critique, it might be tempting to scrap the use of SIAs completely. *This approach is hardly expedient and should be resisted at all costs.* A more pragmatic solution would be to identify those specific areas where SIAs *do* exhibit theoretical inadequacies, and in such situations seek alternative and more comprehensive modes of assessment. Certainly, this philosophical alternative is the one adopted for the purposes of this research essay.

1.3 THE PROBLEM POSED

> Manufacturing guesses is only half of science. We also must be equally vigorous in eliminating or modifying guesses (Trower, 1992, 52).

To summarise the argument thus far, it seems clear that the success of the scoping procedure and the final assessment document hinges in one way or another on the stringency of the

Perceptual Analysis initiated at the start of the impact assessment process. More specifically, this success hinges on the assumption that the perceptions of possible impact held by potentially affected parties accurately predict the impacts that might occur should mitigatory or enhancement measures not be timeously applied.

But is this assumption necessarily correct? Is it not reasonable to query whether the perceptions of what *might* occur do actually coincide with the way people cognise what *does* eventually occur? In the instance of impact assessment work, SIA's methodological rigour would be seriously called into doubt should perception not correspond the more realistic cognised versions of impact. If a case study were to reveal such variance then, arguably, the practitioners of SIA are using an inappropriate assessment technique that confounds the discipline's normative intent, and ultimately places its professional status at risk.

While all the above implications are serious, very little research has as yet been carried out in an effort to prove or disprove the validity of Perceptual Analysis and the role that it plays in the process of Impact Assessment. Indeed, there appears to have been very little opportunity to do so. The chances of finding two identical sites and circumstances, one where an impact has already occurred, and the other where that same impact is still to occur, are small. Small too have been the opportunities to test the "perception-versus-cognition" hypothesis should two such sites be found. The lack of such hypothesis-testing in the relevant literature seems to attest to this. This research report has, however, identified two such sites, and is therefore in the position of being able to put this hypothesis to the test.

1.4 THE CASE OF LIESBEEK GARDENS AND FOREST HILLS

In July 1989, the University of Cape Town (UCT) purchased for the price of 8,25 million Rands, a large block of flats in the adjacent suburb of Mowbray[3]. This flat complex, called

3 Map 1 provides a wider metropolitan context; Map 2, an overview of the Liesbeek study area. For a more detailed description of the Mowbray-Rosebank-Rondebosch study area refer to the large fold-out map appended to the back of this report.

Liesbeek Gardens, was acquired by the university in an effort to meet the high accommodation demand for students not normally residing in Cape Town. At the time of purchase, there was an immediate need for 600 residence places. The 220 flat units of Liesbeek Gardens would do much to reduce this number.

The need for the provision of such accommodation had arisen for a number of reasons, all of which are ultimately attributable to the system of apartheid and UCT's attempt to redress the inequities of this legalised racial discrimination. Part of this attempt had involved trying to increase the under-represented proportion of Black students at UCT while at the same time limiting undergraduate student growth so as to maintain proper standards of learning. Between 1979 and 1991, the proportion of Black undergraduates at UCT rose from 9 to almost 30 percent (Cape Times, 27/05/1991). With this increase in Black student numbers, UCT was faced with the problem of providing extra accommodation. The severe shortage of housing in Cape Town, in conjunction with the effects of the Group Areas Act[4] (Act 36 of 1966), means that it is virtually impossible for Black students to obtain accommodation within reasonable distance from the university campus. For students such as these, the unacceptable situation of excessive travel time and expense has increasingly became a source of much frustration.

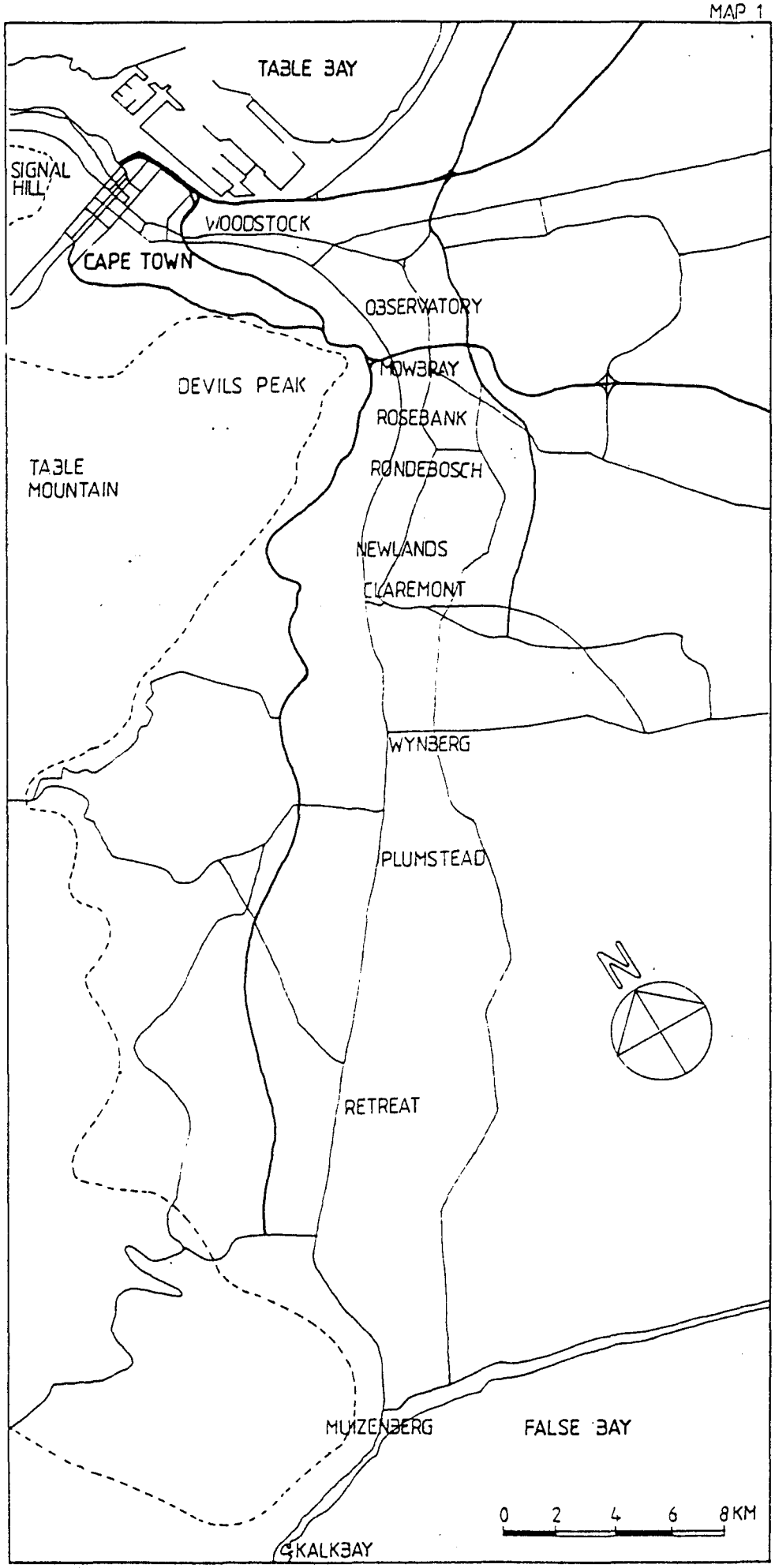
UCT authorities have been sympathetic to these difficulties. As the then acting Vice-Chancellor Professor Reid said in 1991,

> ... we have a responsibility not only to ensure that we enroll students whom we expect will be able to succeed, and succeed well, but also to provide the environment in which they are most likely to do so (Cape Times, 27/05/1991).

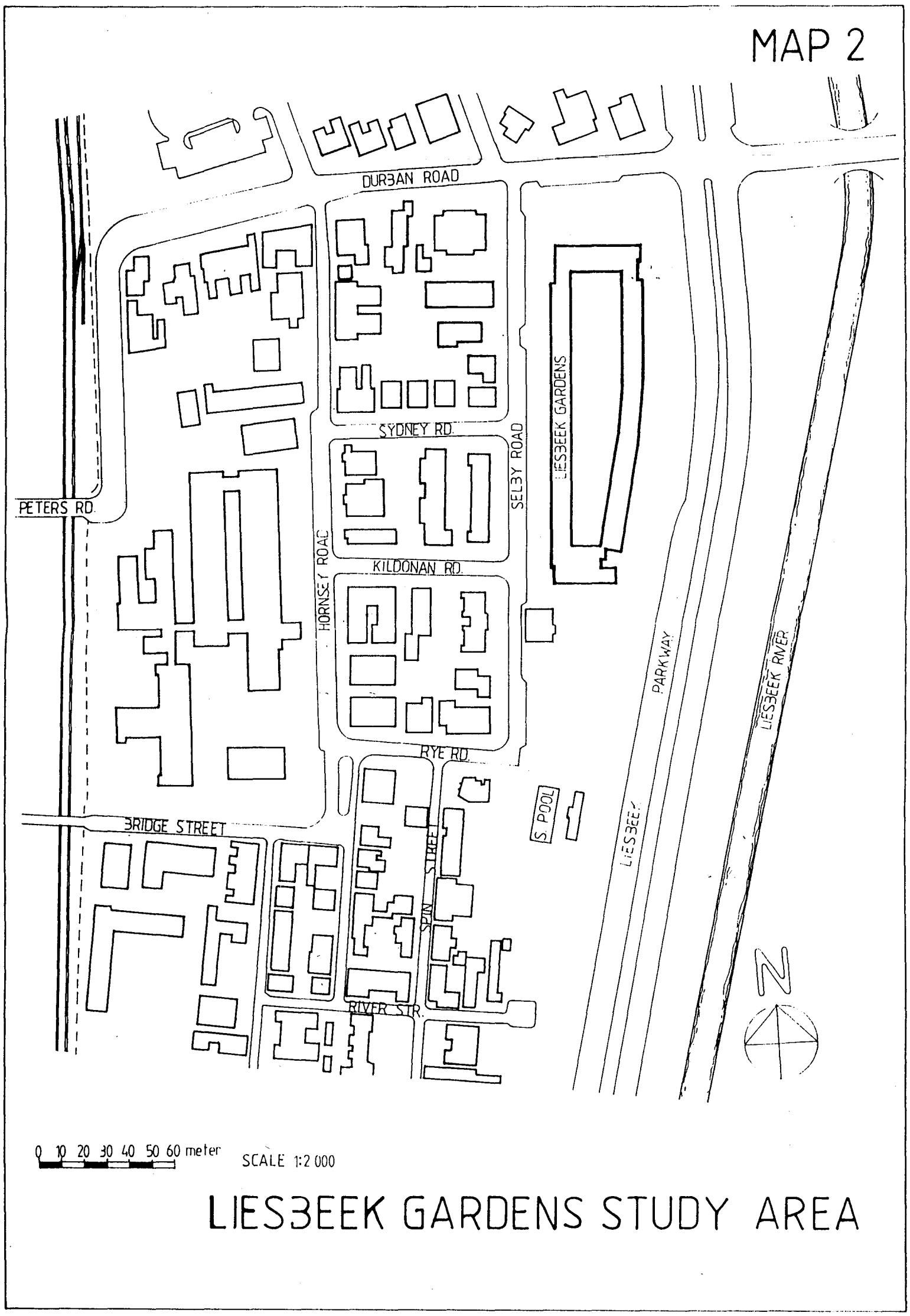
For many years, the South African government had stopped provided funds for the housing of students. Therefore, if UCT was to provide an environment conducive to study, it was necessary to explore the other options available for the provision of further student accommodation. The most cost-effective of these options lay in the existing housing market, since building space on or near the campus was limited and building costs were very expensive.

4 While this act has since been repealed by the Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Act 108 of 1991, its various socio-spatial dimensions of urban South Africa will endure well into the next century.

MAP 1



THE SOUTHERN SUBURBS OF CAPE TOWN
A METROPOLITAN CONTEXT



LIESBEEK GARDENS STUDY AREA

It was for these reasons that, in 1989, UCT purchased the Liesbeek Gardens flat complex.

Although this complex provided a solution (albeit short-term) to the university's accommodation shortage, the purchase was by no means an ideal one. Indeed, UCT's Planning Unit had advised against the Liesbeek Gardens option because of the various negative impacts it might generate in the surrounding, relatively affluent white residential area (Eliot, pers comm). Such impacts would materialise not merely because the existing tenants of Liesbeek Gardens were to be evicted, but because the effect of replacing them with a predominantly undergraduate body of black students could, in the South African context, create a social disharmony that would ultimately lead to bitterness and conflict.

According to local city councillor, Ian Iverson (pers comm), many of the residents in the area, on hearing of UCT's purchase of Liesbeek Gardens, became bitterly upset by what they considered as the university's insensitive intrusion into the local suburban fabric, and numerous letters of complaint appeared in the local press. Despite such opposition from local residents and the advice of their professional planners, UCT made no attempt to initiate any form of SIA. In so doing, an opportunity to anticipate and moderate any potentially negative impacts was missed.

Today, more than three years later, a variety of impacts have been *cognised* by all residents in and around the immediate vicinity of the flat complex. Because of the negative nature of most of these impacts, a significant proportion of the local community has become hostile towards UCT's intrusion in the area and towards the university as an institution.

By 1990, it appeared that the Cape Town City Council had become aware of possible developmental problems in the area and, in an attempt to resolve the conflict between UCT's intention to expand its off-campus activities and local residents' determination to maintain the pre-existing residential *status quo*, it commissioned a detailed structure plan of the Rondebosch-Mowbray area (GAPS, 1990). Central to this plan was an effort to accommodate all interested and affected parties in the area in order that any further development might proceed with as little conflict and social disruption as possible. Within this developmental process, the City Council

saw itself as an "honest broker", "an enabler, negotiating with a myriad of actors" in the area (GAPS, 1990, 124). For its part, UCT agreed to confine its further expansion to a corridor of development between Rhodes Drive and the Main Road, in a northerly direction extending towards the Groote Schuur hospital and medical campus. (See fold-out map.) In this way, it hoped to minimize the impact of its activities on the surrounding residential areas.

Shortly after the drafting of this structure plan, UCT announced the acquisition of an additional complex of five apartment blocks known collectively as Forest Hills (Map 3, page 15). Although this purchase, comprising a total of 351 flat apartments, and costing 40 million Rands, fell within the negotiated corridor of development, this had not been the case with Liesbeek Gardens. Having acquired Forest Hills, UCT announced that the existing occupants of these flats would be given until the end of that year, 1991, to find alternative accommodation. Under exceptional circumstances, certain senior tenants would be permitted to stay longer. This concession was considered by some to be a tacit acknowledgement on UCT's part of the mistakes it made during the takeover of Liesbeek Gardens. More cynically, others viewed this gesture as an attempt by UCT to retain some of its fast diminishing credibility in the area. Regardless of the interpretation, the objective of UCT's purchase of Forest Hills made such a gesture meaningless in the long term. As acting Vice-Chancellor, Professor Reid said at the time, "the flats will make a major contribution to UCT's ability to house students" (UCT News Magazine, 1991, 22). For the time-being therefore, it appears that it is only upon sufferance that UCT is allowing these tenants to remain.

Because of this acquisition, the majority of the Forest Hills residents have been forced to make alternative accommodation arrangements, a task that is becoming increasingly difficult because the growing conversion of flats to sectional title has reduced significantly the availability of rental housing stock (Argus, 21/9/1991). The expected increase of students in Forest Hills will inevitably alter the demography of the area. Unlike the Liesbeek Gardens case however, the magnitude and significance of this alteration *may only be determined in the years to come.* Almost inevitably, therefore, the purchase of Forest Hills has become an increasing source of concern for affected parties in the local area.

MAP 3

FORREST HILLS STUDY AREA

While no one impact is identical to the next, within the scale of the suburban context, there are a number of significant similarities between the circumstances of Liesbeek Gardens and Forest Hills:

1. UCT purchased both flats for the purposes of providing student accommodation. As a matter of policy, these students will be, or are, predominantly "black", although in the spirit of a new and non-racist South Africa, this fact has never been explicitly acknowledged by UCT.

2. Both of these flats are situated in the suburb of Mowbray. A distance of no more than a kilometre separates the two complexes.

3. Mowbray is an established middle-to-upper class white suburb and, in many respects, the residential communities surrounding the two flats exhibit the same demographic characteristics.

4. Each flat complex is bounded by a similar set of land-use activities. Behind each flat complex, busy secondary roads separate the flats from the wider area, thereby effectively channelling any student related impacts towards the campus. More than this, both the student pedestrian routes that stretch between each flat complex and UCT cut directly through residential areas.

From the above it should be expected that within the immediate residential envelope of Mowbray, the source, nature and direction of each set of impacts will be similar. Thus while cognisant of the broader metropolitan context and possible impacts deriving therefrom, the social and cultural similarities existing between the immediate areas surrounding the two flat complexes have created a localized geographical symmetry that is sufficiently compelling to provide a problem solving context for this study.

1.5 AIM

As has already been outlined, this report's primary aim is to test the hypothesis that *the analysis of perceptions of potential impact is a useful tool in gauging the nature and extent of such an impact*. Two residential areas adjacent to the Forest Hills and Liesbeek Gardens flat complexes have been chosen as study sites suitable to test this hypothesis.

1.6 SUBSIDIARY OBJECTIVES

Specific secondary objectives to facilitate testing of the hypothesis are:

1. To interview a representative population sample of each of the two residential communities living adjacent to Forest Hills and Liesbeek Gardens about the various impacts subsequent to and stemming from UCT's purchase of these flat complexes. From the information gathered through this process, to -

2. draw out the *perceptions* of expected impact of local residents near Forest Hills, together with the *cognitions* of impact experienced by residents near Liesbeek Gardens. Having done this, one can -

3. comparatively assess these perceptions and cognitions, and in such a manner, be in a position to -

4. judge whether any correspondence exists between the perceptual and cognitive views of impact.

If such a correspondence exists, then the hypothesis holds.

1.7 REPORT STRUCTURE

A conceptual basis from which the primary objective and its subsidiary aims can be addressed, is included in Chapter 2. Issues addressed here include: social impacts as they occur in the urban framework, the conflicts which so often underpin such impact, and the prevalence of perceptions which usually inform both. A brief review of psychological models pertinent to Perceptual Analysis concludes the chapter.

Chapter 3 discusses the methodology for the research. A description of older and more recent trends emerging in the social sciences anticipates a discussion of the issues of questionnaire design, the distribution of questionnaires, sampling methods, the analysis of responses, and the presentation of findings.

The *quantitative* aspects of these findings are discussed in Chapter 4. Thereafter Chapter 5 reviews other, more *qualitative* aspects. Finally, Chapter 6 examines the significance and implications of these two sets of findings and conclusions are drawn.

****

CHAPTER TWO

A THEORETICAL BASIS

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter attempts to provide a conceptual framework for the study of perceptions as they occur in the instance of urban social impact. Fundamental to this framework is the question of how site-specific urban impacts arise and how they might be solved. The notion of conflict as it occurs in the arena of urban change is a useful one here, for it is through, and because of social impact that conflict usually occurs, often with additional or secondary impacts to follow. It is this notion of conflict, therefore, that will form the basis of how urban social impacts can be better understood.

In an attempt to theorize the notion of conflict (and therefore social impact) a number of pertinent issues are addressed in this chapter. Included here is a critical discussion of urban-based SIA, the concept of place and its importance to people, and the problem of how to differentiate between progress and change. Thereafter follows a discussion on broad-scale social and economic change and its derivative effects on the urban environment. These effects, it is argued, can be experienced both at a private and a community level. When such effects pose a perceived threat considered to be sufficiently serious, those affected will usually collaborate to defend themselves. In instances of such community conflict, violence is often the result, sometimes bloodshed, even death. Obviously, the nature of such perceptions are crucial to understanding and resolving such moments of conflict. Three theoretical perspectives of environmental psychology conclude this chapter in an attempt to come to such an understanding. These perspectives variously inform the nature of Perceptual Analysis as it is employed in this study. More than this they are critical to the interpreting of qualitative urban impacts.

2.2 SOCIAL IMPACT ASSESSMENT IN CITIES

As noted in Chapter One, development and change in cities can have both positive and negative impacts. The implications of these impacts for people are numerous. It is because of these implications that questions have been raised as to how problems arising from such impacts can be better predicted, understood and wherever possible, successfully dealt with. As the urban theorist, David Harvey (1973, 22) once observed, this is not an easy thing to do, particularly within the urban context.

> The city is a manifestly complicated thing. Part of the difficulty we express when dealing with it can be attributed to this inherent complexity. But our problems can also be attributed to our failure to conceptualize the situation correctly. If our concepts are inadequate or inconsistent, we cannot hope to identify problems or formulate appropriate policy solutions.

For the assessor of urban impacts, this problem of complexity can be compounded with the possibility of inconsistent conceptualization and is therefore highly significant. Most obviously this is because social impact assessors are seldom urban specialists as well. They are usually environmental scientists. Consequently, the various methods for assessing the impacts of development have been honed predominantly with the natural environment in mind. When these methods are used in the urban context, the inevitable result, as Harvey suggests, is a failure to identify problems and hence an inability to formulate appropriate policy solutions.

In the light of the foregoing, it is reasonable to ask why SIA's methodological bias towards analytical techniques more appropriate to the natural environment has occurred. There are essentially two reasons for this.

Firstly, SIA was conceived out of necessity through changes to American environmental legislation during the late 1960s and 1970s. Such legislation, in particular, the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) of 1969, required an environmental impact assessment report with every planned infrastructural development. During the decade that followed the passing of NEPA, nearly 12 000 of these reports were compiled (Freudenburg & Keating, 1982). Although NEPA required an integration of both physical and human sciences within each report, attention to the latter was scant in these early years (Taylor, Bryan & Goodrich, 1990). When such attention was accorded, it was usually treated cursorily, by scientists inclined towards the

bio-physical environment. The development of environmental science since 1970 has thus frequently included with it a form of SIA which is strongly reflective of the bio-physical interests of its practitioners. SIA is consequently a discipline whose theoretical framework borrows extensively from the theories of those assessing developmental impacts in the natural environment.

The second reason for SIA's inclination towards the procedures of natural sciences stems from the first. Because theories tend to mould practice, SIA methodologies have tended to mimic those used in the life sciences. While not denying in any way the extremely complex web of inter-relations existing in physical ecology, these biological relations do not hold in cities. They do not contain the elements and processes of socio-political life. Neither do they accommodate the behavioural aspects of urban life. SIA is, as a result, seldom methodologically adequate when it comes to dealing with the wide-ranging effects of urban development.

Noting also that in an ever changing and uncertain world, SIA predictions that employ the present as their base-line for hypothesizing the future, run the risk of inaccurate assessments and erroneous assumptions. With this in mind, it should be clear that, if the compounded problem of a temporal uncertainty in a complex urban process is to be successfully addressed, SIA should be critically informed by and constantly realigning itself to any new trends in contemporary socio-spatial theory. If SIA were to be better informed by such theoretical considerations, newer methods more appropriate and applicable to the urban focus might begin to emerge.

These introductory remarks serve mainly as a brief overview of the origins of SIA. But they also inform the approach of this report in three specific ways.

Firstly, they acknowledge the inherent and unique *complexity* of social life.

Secondly, they serve to assert that *theory comes before practice.* (One should know why and how something must be done before doing it.) For SIA, this has not always been the case. If SIA is to avoid its past tendency of putting the practical cart before the theoretical horse, much

work is required. In essence this implies a realignment of this discipline with those embracing critical sociological, anthropological and geographical accounts of urban life.[5]

Thirdly, these remarks provide the basis for a critique, which argues that the theory and methods of SIA need to focus themselves clearly on the social and spatial relations of society's political economy. As such, this has served to emphasize *the context* of these socio-spatial relations - the built environment. It is a context which will, much like the natural environment, provide the constraints and opportunities of planned development. The degree of constraint and opportunity will inevitably inform the degree of impact and the potential for mitigatory measures. If SIA is to be effective when dealing with urban impacts, it should reflect a sensitivity to this context.

2.3 THE NATURE OF PLACE

> A man's possibilities depend on the possibilities of the place where he finds himself (Naipaul, 1989, 139).

Central to the urban context is the notion of "place". For humanistic and behavioural geographers this notion has always been of particular interest. Places are personal points of reference they claim, and are therefore critical to the development of a personal identity. It is in these places that we experience the meaningful events that make up our lives (Norberg-Schulz, 1971). Accepting the above, it is natural that we should come to attach certain symbolic or emotional ties to such places. This relationship between people and the places they make for themselves is called, "Topophilia", meaning literally, a love of place. Yi-Fu Tuan (1974, 54), describes Topophilia as the "the effective bond between people or place or setting. Diffuse as concept, vivid and concrete as personal experience."

5 The theoretical premises of these disciplines and others in the human sciences are currently being extensively reworked (see Cloke, Philo and Sadler, 1991; Cooke, 1990; Giddens, 1992 and Saunders, 1989), and much is being published in this regard. The learning process implied here is by no means unidirectional. By virtue of its diagnostic and normative intent, SIA's potential contribution to this endeavour could prove useful.

While accepting Tuan's ideas concerning the inter-relationship between place and personal experience, one should not automatically infer that place is therefore a reality individually or subjectively constituted. As Sayer (1979) notes, reality is never entirely moulded by the interpretation of the individual. Rather, reality comes to us reified and assumed. It is thus that we develop a natural attitude about life for which few feel the need to contest or question. In this sense, reality becomes a social construct (Berger & Luckmann, 1967). David Ley (1986, 15) elaborates here, arguing that place is therefore "a negotiated reality, a social construction by a purposeful set of actors."

Put like this, one can understand how a group of people can come to embrace a set of meanings through the sharing of a specific place. In his book on his travels through the southern states of the USA, the novelist, V.S. Naipaul, provides an appropriate example of this.

> So these were the dominant influences in the life of the rural white Southerners - this sense of place, coming out of displacement, indentured servants, migrations, and the finding of this sense of place in the farms, the homesteads, the community. And this sense of place became sacred (Naipaul, 1989, 254).

Bearing the ideas of a social construction of placedness in mind, those working within the urban context should therefore be appreciative of the fact that

> individuals and groups operate not in isolation but in relation to others, people with whom they may not physically interact but who are nevertheless significant in their lives both in terms of influencing their conceptions of the world - and the part they can play in changing or conserving the built environment (Uzzel, 1982, 191).

In summation, it should be clear that by the very definition of the word, place infers a strong inter-relationship between landscape and society. Viewed in humanist terms, the implication here is an important one :- when the landscape of a place is threatened by change, in reality it is the society of that place - its corporate and individual constituents which also fall under threat.

> There was a threat to that sense of place by the racial changes that were taking place. And it was a threat. To know suddenly that things you thought would last forever would never again be the same (Naipaul, 1989, 255).

Having thus far attempted to draw out something of the inter-relationship between places and people, it is now necessary to link these ideas to the issue of change. By focussing on how change can affect places and the people that claim them, it is hoped that the issue of place-related conflict can be more clearly outlined.

2.4 DIFFERENTIATING BETWEEN PROGRESS AND CHANGE.

> Change came like a torrent sweeping all before it: houses, streets, chapels, shops, pubs, the whole old life. Not only the face of the neighbourhood changed, but the body and the spirit of the people: the constitution, grit and social composition. A history was wiped away (Gosling, 1980, 195).

While change can prove to be a traumatic experience, it is worthwhile considering whether this should in any way shape the way we respond to change. A brief overview of the currently unfolding process of change provides the basis for such a discussion.

At the most wide-reaching level of social analysis, it should be clear that we live in an ambivalent age where change and progress are not necessarily the same. The disintegration of Grand Communism; the end of the Cold War; and with it the diminished threat of nuclear holocaust; international events such as these can cast contemporary change in a positive light. While this interpretation is valid there is another conception of the present with "a distinctly more sombre ring," (Giddens, 1992, 22). The most important of these is crystalized in the ongoing debate that centres on

> ... the end of modernity itself. What this means, at least in its more thorough going versions, is nothing short of the end of modern civilisation as such, an overthrowing or dissolving of the main institutional and cultural characteristics which launched the West upon the path of global expansion (ibid).

In the light of the above, Smith's (1984, 367) differentiation between these two processes - that "while change is inevitable, progress is not" - is useful, particularly in the urban context. So many forms of city-based development and change appear to be insensitive, uncontrolled and ill-considered. Consequently, the process of economic development has been the object of much penetrating critique.

Especially critical are those concerned with the quantitative and materialistic orientations of the now global capitalist imperative of "accumulation for accumulation's sake, production for production's sake" (Harvey, 1985, 1). It is this imperative which, if unchecked, so often negates the places that people make for themselves. Friedman (1993, 41) shares this view, arguing that

> [t]here is copious evidence, some of it spattered with blood, that "development" can in some instances be deeply threatening to some of the recipients: an activist argues that shack

> communities which once faced the threat of demolition now face the equally devastating prospect of "development".

This, Friedman goes on to say,

> is not a warning against development: it merely highlights the point that development destroys something which existed in order to build something new and that key elements in the "community" may have a stake in what is destroyed which they may wish to defend (Friedman, 1993, 41).

Those attempting to practice effective SIA, should be sensitive to and act in accordance with these various and complex effects of change upon people. The Chinese symbol for conflict provides an added insight here, for it denotes both *danger* and *opportunity*. Thus, while we can readily appreciate the danger and threat that so often comes with change and conflict, we should realise too that it is in these selfsame times that new opportunities arise to rework outmoded practices, relationships, structures. Certainly, these comments should not be taken to negate the security that placedness offers. Nor should it be taken to deny the profound sense of anguish we feel when a beloved place is dramatically changed or even altered beyond recognition. It is an anguish evoked not simply because of the loss of a place, but because of a loss of a part of ourselves. Lowenthal, (1982, 94), expressed this succinctly: "Change in the beloved monuments of the outside world threatens to fragment the still more transient lives they have come to represent."

The intrinsic bond between people and places remains therefore not so much as an obstacle, but as a challenge to find better, more creative and spatially sensitive approaches to dealing with the conflict that urban change can cause. There is an adage which goes: "If all you have is a hammer, then every thing you see is a nail." So is it with Social Impact Assessment. We need approaches that can appreciate our pasts so that they can be protected and at the same time translated into better and more sustainable futures. The challenge in SIA remains therefore to identify our hammers and replace them with tools more suited to the tasks at hand.

2.5 THE NATURE OF SOCIETAL CHANGE AND CONFLICT

Earlier sections of this chapter attempted to draw the reader towards an awareness of the urban complexity, the primacy of theory over practice (the why before the how), and the importance of context. These should all be important components of any Social Impact Assessment for they assist in contributing towards an understanding of how and why urban change and conflict occurs.

Of importance to this conceptualization is the structural question of why the urban form is always dynamic, always changing and therefore always prone to moments of conflict. In an attempt to explain, if not predict the outcome of socio-spatial change, many contemporary writers have enlisted the aid of Marxist theory (Duncan & Ley, 1982). Essentially concerned with the linking of economic problems to social institutions (Giddens, 1989), Karl Marx held that social change could only occur through the prompting of certain economic influences. Here, Marx was referring specifically to the economic influences of the prevailing mode of production, though more specifically to the influences of nineteenth-century industrial capitalism. While there are others, the most important of these influences are land, labour and capital, and their inter-play through the mediation of the state determines the prevailing political economy.

Noting historically that the balance of these influences is always changing in relation to one another, it is not difficult to appreciate how their different inter-relationships have, over time, led to fundamental changes in the way a society conducts itself. This said, the task remains still to explain why social change occurs particularly at the intra-urban level - and more importantly, why these changes so often result in urban moments of conflict. Again, the structural analysis proves illuminating.

According to Marx, market societies are inherently prone to conflict, predicated as they are upon the struggle between two broad social classes, those who control the means of production[6], and those who do not. For a Marxist, it is this economic base-structure determining who owns

6 The means of production are those elements which are necessary to produce material life. Such elements would include : raw materials existing in nature, productive equipment and infrastructure.

what and who does not that limits the potential of political agency in the instance of conflict. Geographers working within the Marxist-Structuralist paradigm (Harvey, Walker, Castells & Soja amongst others) conclude from this that solutions to such conflict can not be wholly effective unless structural change in that society is facilitated.

While this is true, it is an observation too broad to be of any practical use when assessing impacts at a local or metropolitan level. Harvey's (1982) analysis of regional and urban development is perhaps more useful, for he sets out the structural determinants responsible for spatial change and conflict. Essentially, his thesis is based on the cyclical fluctuations in profitability that capitalist societies are prone to. Periodically, he argues, more goods are produced than can be profitably sold, forcing capital to seek alternative forms of investment. Land development and property is one such option. This is one of the so-called "secondary circuits" in which capital can invest as a temporary means of restoring profitability when the primary circuit of capital can no longer deliver sufficient and sustained profits. Ultimately, as Harvey puts it in one of his earlier papers, capital inevitably comes to represent

> itself in the form of a physical landscape created in its own image, created as use values to enhance the progressive accumulation of capital (1978,124).

By unpacking the various issues related to the question of capital accumulation, the manner in which capital in the abstract translates itself over time into an urban environment can be established. Until now, it should be said, processes of capital accumulation have seldom been punctuated by dramatic shifts or structural turnarounds. Rather, their historical geographies have been underscored by subtle and yet selective re-orderings of the urban morphology. Neither do they negate the fundamental power relations of capitalism's social and spatial structures (Soja, 1989).

Indeed, spatial structures are simply the textured orderings of social structures and the economies underpinning them, and the intra and inter-urban organization of economic space may thus be read off to reveal the typically invisible forces of production, modes of organization and contours of political and ideological will. In this manner, the historical development of society is continually enscribed into a landscape of mortar. While freezing society's past

failures and triumphs - its consistencies and contradictions - this concrete landscape is at the same time being continually transformed by social sectors economically capable of doing so.

With its purchase of the Liesbeek Gardens and Forest Hills complexes riding "rough-shod" over local residential sentiment, UCT is most certainly representative of one such sector. This act, in a very real sense, is a symbolic signature of UCT's economic will over significantly less powerful sectors of the local housing market. On the map of what counts and what does not, the local contours of political and economic power are most definitely apparent, and ultimately, UCT's recently acquired flats have and will increasingly come to represent concrete metaphors of the power structures embedded within that immediately affected society.

While this urban reading might in some respects be valid, clearly, UCT is not acting as a sector of capital investing in secondary circuits in the interests of the most profitable use of money. Rather, UCT's purchase was motivated by political reasons: ensuring that with a new political dispensation, the future Black majority of its students (as opposed to its present White majority), most of whom do not come from Cape Town, would have a better chance of being offered university accommodation.

Additionally, this reading places scant emphasis on the local public as an agency of active engagement and is therefore in certain ways overly deterministic. As Dickens (1990) points out, this is the seemingly ubiquitous failing of most academics working within the structuralist orientation of urban sociology. With perhaps the exception of Massey (1984), those working from this orientation tend to see people as labour-pawns or as units "to whom things happen" (Dickens, 1990, 80). While not wishing to conceptualize society as being the product of unconstrained human action, this is certainly not the case. Society is an agglomeration of moral individuals equipped with the rational capacity to think and act in a manner that they believe best suits them. When grappling with the question of urban change and conflict, it is therefore important that attention be focussed *also* on people's individual understanding of the particular situation at hand. Meaningful Social Impact Assessment would certainly advocate this appraisal as an additional means of coming to terms with urban change and its effects on local society.

Ultimately, it would appear that only a balanced analysis of society and social change that yield the basis of a balanced social assessment. It would therefore seem important to give as equal a measure to behavioural and emotional responses to change as to the circuits of capital thesis and its role in social and spatial change.

2.6 THE PROBLEM OF CONFLICT

Generally speaking, when relative social and spatial differences induced by the process of urban change as described above are perceived to be unfair, conflict will ensue. Such differences usually arise through externalities of particular land-use decisions. These externalities or by-products of other peoples' activities are termed "impacts" in planning professions, for they directly or indirectly impact on the welfare of various individuals at one time or another. As Badcock (1984, 269) observes, such impacts are important, for they can "vitally affect access and opportunities, and redistribute the real income and wealth of property fractions in the city." While this observation is correct, the preceding section has pointed out that externalities are not merely economic in nature. As any Weberian will insist, they can also take on political, cultural and even psychological guises as well. According to Mishan (1969), all of these guises are usually unpriced and often unaccounted for.

Whatever the nature of the contingent externality, any locational decision will contribute either positively or negatively to the welfare of other individuals or groups, and affected parties with a vested interest in their neighbourhood will therefore defend themselves as best they can against any locational choices perceived to create or to increase negative externality effects in their immediate vicinity. When "the threat of a negative externality fails to evaporate" (Cox & Johnston, 1982, 4), it is reasonable to assume that threatened parties would be likely to defend the existing order of property relations against challenges to this status quo. Conflict in this sense, can be understood by each party's desire to maximize the net externalities of urban life (Knox, 1982).

Focusing on the issue of property relations, Badcock (1984) is able to formalize the various sectors that make up the capitalist land market. An abbreviated typology of this formalization follows:

[A] State and Para-Statal Sectors

(a) State bodies receiving property taxes - domestic and/or commercial.

(b) Government institutions like hospitals and education authorities currently acquiring and/or developing property.

[B] Commercial Property Sectors

(a) Sectors accruing profits from the production, construction and marketing of property.

(b) Sectors accruing profits in rental incomes from properties that they might own, lease or manage.

[C] Domestic Property Sectors

(a) Landlords receiving rental income.

(b) Owner-occupiers extracting use-value from an appreciating asset.

(c) Tenants deriving high use-value from rental accommodation. (After Badcock, 1984, 172-2)

As stated earlier however, Badcock's approach does tend to be overly economic in its emphasis and this is certainly the case in the typology she employs here.

In the conflict between UCT and adjoining residents for example, her typology suggests that UCT is a government institution acquiring property, and that local residents and students cleave variously into the three domestic property sectors she outlines. While this categorization is useful to some degree, it is tempting to conclude from her work that all impacts are economically determined through either the use-value or rental income they derive. This is clearly not the case. Adjoining residents interviewed in this study seemed least concerned by real or potential drops in local property values. Instead, as is illustrated in chapters Four and

Five, the impacts of most concern were predominantly psycho-social in nature. This contrasted sharply with the socio-economic and political emphasis given towards these impacts by local councillors, members of parliament, and city planners.

Keeping these thoughts in mind, it should be clear also that the outcome of any conflict between two or more of Badcock's property sectors will inevitably affect the distribution of access and opportunity in urban space. Moreover, from one sector to the next, the spread of power, resources and skills is never even, and it is ultimately their unequal distribution that without a just process of effective mediation or arbitration, will affect the outcome of land-use conflict (Badcock, 1984). Harvey sums up these observations well.

> Different factions of capital and labour have different stakes within a territory depending upon the nature of the assets they control and the privileges they command. Some are more easily drawn into...alliance than others. Land and property owners, developers and builders, those who hold the mortgage debt, and state functionaries have the most to gain. Those sectors of production which cannot easily move...will tend to support an alliance. Factions of labour that have through struggle or out of scarcity managed to create islands of privilege within a sea of exploitation will also just as surely rally to the cause of the alliance to protect their gains (Harvey, 1985a, 151).

As in the case of any site-specific issue, the collective response of such an alliance will usually have strategically limited objectives (Saunders, 1972). Also, conflict occurs not only when individuals or interest groups try to defend their turf. It can arise just as easily from attempts by individuals, firms or local authorities to organize the distribution of externality effects to gain indirect welfare or income advantages. Thus it appears, too, where positive effects fail to materialise.

The dynamics of a site and service project in Khayelitsha, a massive township on the outskirts of Cape Town, illustrates this point. In this project, the agency selected to allocate sites was one of the three local civic organizations operating in the area. Earlier consultation with competing "civics" indicated little or no resistance to this approach. When, however, it appeared that the civic in question was allocating sites only to its supporters, violence broke out with competing civics threatening to derail the entire project if their card-holders were not granted sites as well. The role of the government and local funding agents is seldom neutral in such an instance, and allegations of nepotism, of practising patronage politics in favouring one grouping at the expense of another, are often quite legitimate.

According to Hess (1982), local authorities often aim to attract land-uses and activities that will stimulate the local tax-base or increase employment opportunities in certain sectors. Cox & Dear (1975) call this competition between neighbouring local governments, "fiscal mercantilism".

Urban planning agencies often justify their interference by maintaining that without their help, the market would be unable to allocate its resources efficiently. The neo-classical logic behind this sort of assertion is not beyond critique.[7] An alternative interpretation of fiscal mercantilism would claim rather that local authorities act only out of self-interest and perceive their responsibilities as those of maximising property taxes, services and growth for employment opportunities (Harvey, 1973; Hess, 1982).

When conflict occurs between various sectors of property, the idealized role of the local state will be one of arbiter. Access to such arbitration will differ markedly from one sector to the next, according to the nature and degree of power they wield. Power, Habermas (1979) argues, can be broken into two reflexively related sectors - the economic and the political. An economically powerful property-sector might use the property market as its battle-ground, while those with limited finance might invoke the political alternative as a strategy. This alternative is usually locally democratic and finds spatial expression through the distribution of local wards and urban councils. Through participation in this local political system, property sectors that are relatively poor might lobby for favourable state arbitration.

In the instance of this research report, this has been the case. For a number of reasons outlined in the introductory chapter, local residents' attempts for favourable arbitration from the Cape Town City Council have not proven successful, and the conflict over UCT's purchase of Liesbeek Gardens and Forest Hills has remained unresolved. As a result, impacts of varying types and degrees have, and continue to occur. In this instance, the opening chapter of this report has suggested that the application of Perceptual Analysis might prove useful in attempting to identify and assess some of these less quantifiable impacts.

7 See McArthy & Smit (1984).

The following section provides a discursive account of where Perceptual Analysis is useful, and outlines the role that it plays in the discipline of Social Impact Assessment.

2.7 THE THEORY OF PERCEPTUAL ANALYSIS

2.7.1. INTRODUCTION

The current role of the South African Police [SAP] provides a useful illustration of how important the difference is between what something *is* and how it is *perceived.* Moving further towards a new democratic dispensation, law enforcement claims to be changing accordingly. Yet this is not necessarily the *perception* that many South Africans might hold of this institution. Following years of brutalisation during the Apartheid era, many Black South Africans fear and mistrust the SAP, perceiving it as an instrument of an illegitimate and discredited government. For the SAP this is a major problem, for while it might spend thousands of Rands on training programmes aimed at re-educating its employees in less repressive modes of conduct, it would be contentious to assume that such expenditure will automatically influence the way in which the police are currently perceived by the public. During the current fragile process of political transition, it is vitally important that these negative and entrenched perceptions are changed and, while it remains uncertain how and when this will occur, the national significance of this issue underscores the relevance of perception-related issues in our daily lives.

The instance of a rezoning proposal where objections are called for, is another, perhaps more relevant illustration of how perceptions play their part in moments of urban change. Such objections are usually based on individual perceptions of what might occur following the proposed rezoning. Clearly, perceptions can and indeed do play a significant role in determining how an urban landscape should be shaped. In the instance of this study, no objections were called for when UCT considered the purchasing of Liesbeek Gardens and Forest Hills. Had such objections been called for, local perceptions might well have forced UCT to acknowledge residential sentiment and to consider alternative accommodation strategies for its students. As it happened, the manner in which UCT acted has served merely to fuel local

resentment. Had this institution gone so far as even *to concede* the perceptions of local residents, the conflict might not have been amplified to the extent that it has.

In noting the important role of perceptions in situations such as these, it is paradoxical if not ironic to note also the apparent elusiveness of any workable definition of perception that transcends the boundaries of various academic disciplines. This inexactitude has been referenced already in the opening chapter where it was pointed out that perceptions appear to be understood and used differently according to the contextual requirements of the discipline in question.

In tacit acknowledgement of this frustrating lack of trans-diciplinary uniformity, I have chosen to define the term perception in a manner that best suits the purposes of this study. The theoretical framework that underpins this definition is presented below.

2.7.2 PERCEPTUAL ANALYSIS

Addressing the complicated nature of urban life, Shields (1975) argues that the nature of a proposed development or change in land use will inevitably involve one or more of a combination of four forms of impact. An abbreviated formalization of Shield's typology follows:

1. Demographic impacts, or impacts that affect the number and the composition of a population in a given area.

2. Economic impacts, or impacts that affect matters such as local employment, income and taxes.

3. Cultural impacts, or impacts that affect the cohesion of a given population.

4. Psychological impacts, or impacts affecting accepted values and day-to-day behaviour in the affected area.

Demographic and economic impacts can usually be objectively determined by applying quantitative methods on existing demographic and economic data. Census figures often provide a useful source of such information (Burdge, 1991). Cultural and psychological impacts on the other hand, exist in the more subjective realms of personal systems of value, attitude and belief. Such realms are complex and difficult to reduce to numerical simplicity. Understandably, therefore, the use of quantitative methodologies to gauge the nature of foreseeable cultural and/or psychological impacts, is not usually recommended (Munn, 1979; Chambers, 1983; Wellings, 1986). Instead, a more qualitative approach that appreciates the depth and complexity of people's inner-worlds is generally recommended.

Integral to this qualitative approach is the role of what this report has termed Perceptual Analysis. This form of analysis is useful in explaining how people see themselves in relation to their surroundings, and therefore how they might respond to environmental impacts that might occur.

Rooted in psychology, environmental perception and cognition can be approached from three theoretical points of view, namely the *Traditional*, the *Information Flow* and the *Dynamic Interactionist* perspectives. From the traditional perspective, perception is seen as a process whereby the environment is perceived in terms of the characteristics of its physical constituents. When taken from the information flow perspective, perception is seen as a process of receiving and decoding information received from the environment. The dynamic interactionist perspective, on the other hand gives emphasis to the dialectic relationship existing between the environment and the perceiver (van Deventer, 1992).

Essentially, each of these models provide alternate insights of the same process. Therefore by outlining the salient points of each, it is hoped that a more comprehensive interpretation of environmental perception will be made possible. This said, the discussion that follows will attempt to elicit from each of these an understanding of Perceptual Analysis that is most appropriate to the study at hand.

2.7.2.a. THE TRADITIONAL PERSPECTIVE

As stated above, this perspective concentrates on the physical attributes of the perceiver's environment. The emphasis here is therefore on how the perceiver senses the environment through stimuli which are conveyed to the perceiver in the form of *energy*. This perspective postulates that we become aware of objects through a combination of the five senses: sight, sound, smell, taste and feel. As van Deventer (1992, 56) notes, such awareness "is at most a vague idea or feeling, and does not have a definite meaning. The perceiver arrives at a meaning (a percept) by interpreting his (or her) sensations. This process of ascribing meaning to sensations is known as cognition". Cognition, the above author goes on to say, involves the process of recognizing the perceived object through relating incoming environmental data with existing memory content. Reasoning, the process whereby as yet unknown aspects of a perceived object might be discovered, is an additional component of cognition.

This said, there exists a qualitative difference between one's perception of an object and one's perception of the environment. Ittleson (1973) argues on this point, stating that while a perceiver can maintain an objective stance when perceiving an object, it is impossible to achieve this in an environmental context where one is at all times a participant within that environment. Moreover, while an object is usually perceived as a unity, often in terms of only one sense, environments supply a constant stream of multi-modal information. The immediacy of urban environments in particular, are usually too complex to be perceived in their totality.

In the light of such remarks, it should be clear that the traditional method has limited applicability to environmental perception.

2.7.2.b. THE INFORMATION FLOW PERSPECTIVE

Van Deventer (1992) notes that the fundamental difference between this and the aforegoing perspective is that whereas the Traditional Perspective considers perception in terms of energy transformation, this perspective considers it in terms of information flow.

The above author makes the crucial point here that the degree of environmental interpretation should be based not only on the quality of incoming environmental information, but also on the ability of the perceiver to interpret this information. Thus, as she points out,

> the amount of information conveyed in an interaction cannot be measured simply in terms of the number of utilised "bits", since the perceiver's previous knowledge may also play a part. Information must, therefore, be viewed in relation to the perceiver of the information (van Deventer, 1992, 62).

In this sense, *perception is mediated* by information accumulated through past experience.[8] This interpretation leans heavily on the role that cognition plays in perception (Johanson et al, 1980). Here, the cognitive process is analogous to a mode of unconscious problem solving necessary in transforming stimuli into percepts. The important point should be made, however, that incoming information can often provide misleading cues (Brunswick, 1969). The perception of an object's size, which is often affected by its distance from the perceiver, and by its position relative to another object, provides a somewhat crude example of this phenomenon. Here, in order to establish whether the smaller looking of two objects is indeed the smaller, or whether it is of a similar, or larger size, but at a greater distance, the perceiver must come *to some estimate of the reality at hand.* In the case of such estimations, there will always be some degree of uncertainty - but the greater the pool of past experience the greater the probability of approximating this reality more accurately.

Using Brunswick's (1969) analysis three different categories of environmental reality become apparent:

1: the objective reality itself;

2: a subjective reality, interpreted solely through the perceptions of incoming environmental information, and;

3: that same subjective reality though mediated *also* by the cognitive "filters" of past experience.

8 It should be said that there are those who cleave to a school that does not accept the model of mediated perception, arguing rather that the environment contains sufficient information and therefore that the perceiver does not require the assistance of an additional cognitive refinement process (van Deventer, 1992). This alternative "direct perception" model has limited applicability to the purposes of this research.

The cognitive filters of this third category include the processing, categorizing and manipulating of such incoming information. Working in the school of "mediated perception", Posner (1973 in Hyman & Stiftel, 1988) claims that perception is deeply influenced by the cognitive processes that experience and learning provide. Included here is the ability to reason and respond rationally. It follows that, assuming the existence of some degree of experience and knowing, this third category provides a far better means of approximating the reality of an objective environment. Clearly, without the temporal connotations of learning or experience, perceptions remain unmediated and therefore have no relation with cognition. More correctly then, perceptions devoid of temporal connotations remain as just perceptions. On the other hand, perceptions that include a degree of experience or learning should be better termed mediated perceptions - perceptions mediated by the inward processes of cognition.

For practical purposes, this study will hone this argument further, and equate mediated perception with cognition. Connoted here of course is a temporal aspect not associated with direct or unmediated perception. *For the purposes of simplicity therefore, the term "cognition" will henceforth be used when a degree of experience is assumed. Conversely, the term "perception" shall be employed when such experience is absent.*

For social impact assessors, the Information Flow perspective as a means to accessing environmental information is certainly useful. Its usefulness is however qualified by the extent to which environmental perceptions are mediated by past experience. The logic of this study is underpinned almost entirely by this argument. In the instance of Forest Hills, social impacts have yet to occur, and therefore can be predicted only through direct and unmediated perception. When the information was gathered for this research, the impacts deriving from the Liesbeek Gardens complex spanned over two years. Residents in this neighbourhood could therefore respond on the basis of their cognitive experiences. In the instance of such a study therefore, the Information Flow perspective has proven to be extremely useful.

2.7.2.c. THE DYNAMIC INTERACTIONIST PERSPECTIVE

This third perspective does little to challenge previous notions of energy and information as the basic units of perception. What is at stake in the Dynamic Interactionist perspective however, is the ever-changing relationship between perceiver and environment. For each individual this relationship is unique, based as it is not only on the sociological, economic and psychological make-up of the perceiver (Moore & Gollege, 1976 in Hyman & Stiftel, 1988), but also on the extent and duration of his or her interaction and experience within that environment. Because of these factors, environmental perceptions will inevitably take on a certain private and personal cast.

Central to this perspective is the notion of an *environmental event.* Such events can take on both a personal *and* public meaning and are integral to the nature of environmental experience (Fast, 1985). Urban change as an illustration of such an event, may be differentially experienced in terms of the sensuous modalities conferred, the emotions it may arouse, or the physical consequences. Thus, the interpretation "of an event as (another) basic unit of perception depends on the focus of attention at a specific moment" van Deventer (1992,77) - and when a certain focus is shared by a number of perceivers, this event becomes public *as well as personal.* An environmental event becomes thus a function not merely of the nature and focus of the perceiver, but also the perceptions of others involved.

These remarks serve to underline the psychological connotations of placedness and community alluded to earlier in this chapter. Place is an inherently personal construct defined by the interaction between the perceiver and the environment. When there exists a local convergence of these constructs, they take on a public guise as well. Such an instance is evidenced by the convergence of sentiment of communities adjacent to Forest Hills and Liesbeek Gardens. Gibson (1979), makes the biological comparison here, suggesting that the concepts of place and community be equated with the concept of an ecological niche. Such a comparison appears somewhat mechanistic and seems valid only in so far as it defines the opportunities that an environment offers to those within it.

Notwithstanding this, compared to the preceding two models, the Dynamic Interactionist perspective provides a far more qualitative framework for interpreting aspects of place and community. Such aspects of course, are central to the study at hand.

****

Having thus far provided a conceptual account on which to base this research endeavour, the following chapter will endeavour to focus on the methodological aspects necessary for such an enquiry.

****

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, the various methodological elements of this report are introduced and elaborated upon. These elements include: the reasoning behind the questionnaire design, the composition of the structured sample, the method of data collection, the analysis of replies, and the presentation of findings. In order to explain the theoretical rationale underpining this study this discussion is predicated by an elaboration of the problems inherent in the theorising of procedure and method.

3.2 PREAMBLE : IN SEARCH OF A METHOD

Tracing the development of what eventually became modern human geography, Gregory (1989) argues that, over a period of approximately three hundred years, the discipline has been variously influenced by anthropology, sociology and economics. These disciplines in turn have been affected by the influence of scientific naturalism. Asserting this claim, he argues that -

> [i]t would be not be difficult to identify the impress of evolutionary biology on anthropology; that sociology was no stranger to biological analogies, of course ... and that the calculus of neoclassical economics was deliberately modeled on statistical mechanics (Gregory, 1989, 352).

Drawing the same conclusion as Stoddart (1986), Gregory infers that it was through the influence of these disciplines that much of contemporary geography became shaped by the natural sciences - by the tenets of logical positivism - and most critically by the so-called "modernist" search for a grand and totalising theory of world order.

Reflections of the methods of the bio-physical sciences in geography notwithstanding, there are a number of other schools of thought within geography that consciously adopt an "unscientific" mode of enquiry. Phenomenology, Structuralism and Feminism are but some of these. Over

the past three decades, these epistemological alternatives have sought, together with scientific positivism, to develop adequate and contextually relevant methodological procedures in geographical studies. More than merely attempting to reach a satisfactory theoretical and methodological basis for analysis within any one established sub-field of the discipline, many geographers (Harvey is but one example here)[9], have argued that theirs is the only proper and informed basis of geographical explanation, and fundamental paradigmatic differences in opinion are deeply entrenched within the discipline.

Perhaps nowhere else has the fracture and dissent of these theoretical schisms been so exemplified as in the Physical versus Human split in Geography. As Knill (1992) correctly observes, this breach in the unity of geography was most recently exposed in Peet & Thrift's *New Models in Geography* (1989). In their introduction, the editors, acknowledge the fact that their book does not contain *any* work by physical geographers. This omission, they say is due to the physical-human differentiation in geography, concluding, somewhat lamely, that for the cause of unity within geography, things can only get better. More to the point, it would seem that this omission is due to the fact that physical and bio-physical geography lend themselves more readily to the positivist mode of analysis, while human geography does not (Ley & Samuels, 1978).

More than just splitting the discipline of geography, paradigmatic schisms, particularly the Positivist-Humanist schism, have also served to underline the deep sense of insecurity that plagues so many of the human sciences. Such insecurity lies not so much in the orientation *per se*, but rather in the *methodological and interpretive difficulties* associated with this orientation. Under such circumstances, one might ask what methodological procedures and forms of analysis *are* the most appropriate for the studying of sociological phenomena?

Not merely to find answers to these questions, but also (as stated earlier) because of the influence of the "natural sciences", many of the social sciences have, to varying degrees

9 Compare for example, Harvey's positivist stand point in 1969, with his defecttion to the Marxist camp four years later. In the years since 1973, he has remained intractably Marxist (see Harvey 1984 and 1987) and suspicious of the more recent interest in eclectic theoretical approaches. (See Cloke, Philo and Sadler (1991) in this regard).

experimented with limited success with positivist modes of interpretation. As the psychologist, Carl Rogers (1972, 449) put it:

> [o]ne of the unfortunate things about psychology is that it has tried to make one great leap and become a science like physics. We must go back and do much more naturalistic observation. Out of that might grow a real psychological science, not an imitation of physics.

Rogers could well have been speaking about some areas within geography that in the past have applied the "hard core" scientific procedures of logical positivism in inappropriate spheres of investigation and with increasingly limited explanatory returns (Zelinsky, 1975; Harvey, 1973). During the 1970s, Geographers as much as other social scientists, began to realize that part of the problem here was not just the *nature* of the investigative methodology[10], but also the *subject matter* under investigation.

Positivists maintain that their subject matter usually does not respond to external stimuli in terms of a range of inward values and meanings (Haralambos, 1985), and even if it did, observation, measurement and hypothesis testing through empirical analysis is customarily the appropriate methodology to adopt. In order to explain the behaviour of the subject under study, there is consequently little reason for the natural scientist to take into account the internal or invisible nature of the subject under study. This was essentially the position adopted by the Urban Ecologists in Chicago during the 1930's (Badcock, 1984).

Humanists and even structuralists disagree with this interpretation, holding that there *is* an intrinsic difference between the subject matter of the natural and social sciences. The behaviour of the former can be explained in terms of its response to an external stimulus; the latter *also* in terms of a dynamic and inwardly constituted set of meanings, beliefs and ideologies. For a proper explanation of social systems and the various power relations embedded within them, these inward meanings also have to be accessed and accounted for. Working from what is essentially a feminist perspective [see also Shepherd (1993)], Shere Hite (1987, 770) shares this belief, noting that within the Humanities, there has been the increasing realization that, all too often, the

10 At that time much attention was focussed on the "quantification versus critique" debate.

> ... subject matter is so thick with personal and interpersonal experience, with moral and evaluative judgements, that the "impersonal" and "value free" methodological strategies of the Sciences are at best irrelevant and at worst a distortion of the subject matter itself.

While perhaps overstating the case, Hite does articulate the crux of the methodological conundrum that this research report has been attempting to negotiate. Dealing with peoples' perceptions and cognitions, the issues here were inevitably emotive and laden with subjective values. Writing within the general framework of a bio-physically inclined environmental science - and specifically within the ambit of the explicitly professional discipline of Impact Assessment - some might construe that the aim of this study was to produce an objective and value free report.

It is this writer's contention that this implied translation from the personal and subjective to the neutral and objective is an impossible task. This report contains elements of both. In design and analysis, it combines the interpretive insights of a *number* of theoretical standpoints, making use of both empirical and qualitative techniques of analysis. It is an approach born of an inherent mistrust of the notion that any one theory is entirely waterproof and can stand alone, head and shoulders above the rest. To the contrary, this report is underscored by a philosophy that rests on the postmodern premise that to track and draw on the full circle of theoretical opinion within Geography, offers the researcher a wealth and variety of insight that adds vitality to any scholarship (Cloke, Philo & Sadler, 1991). For these authors, postmodernism as a method argues for the need "to contemplate the human world less in terms of grand theories and more in terms of humble, eclectic and empirically grounded materials" (Cloke, Philo and Sadler, 1991, 171), emphasis retained). Postmodern methodologies thus tend not towards the establishment of a Grand Theory of Society, but rather towards a disorganized and random world-view, in the process, urging for "a greater sensitivity to the differences that exist between phenomena in all sorts of ways, both obvious and subtle" (Ibid). Accepting this, there can be little doubt that when regarding the uniqueness of place and community; (two of the major themes in this report), postmodernism as a method is perhaps the most suitable of the various methodological options available to a study of this nature.

It should be said moreover, that while the author has adopted what is essentially a multi-disciplinary approach, at root is an ongoing anthropocentric concern that any geographical research should be conducted not for the sake of understanding the world, but for changing it.

* * * *

Having thus sketched the various theoretical differences of opinion that continue to confound the question of method, it is hoped that the reader might appreciate the numerous philosophical considerations that have underscored the various methodological elements of what might appear to be a relatively straightforward form of research design.

Specifically, the procedure of research invoked the use of self-administered questionnaires, and its method can be divided into four stages. These are: questionnaire design, method of data collection and the statistical sample composition, analysis of response, and the presentation of findings. The remainder of this chapter describes these stages.

3.3 QUESTIONNAIRE DESIGN

3.3.1 Anonymity within community

It is the ongoing task of academia to devise appropriate methodological frameworks for the analysis and presentation of information in mixed quantitative/qualitative research. As noted in the previous section, the issue of converting subjective responses into an objective analysis can provide certain theoretical and methodological problems. One of these is the question of how to obtain a relatively anonymous set of responses within a study context laden with the subjectivities connotated to place and community.

Anonymity is often held to be the key to "scientific" objectivity since it detaches the personal response from the analysis of this response. Consequently, authors like Oppenheim (1966) and Babbie (1973) have argued that by employing an anonymity in the design of a questionnaire, the responses will somehow become depersonalized. Such thinking is not strictly correct; because

when guaranteed anonymity, respondents will generally offer less inhibited replies. Such openness allows for a greater input of personal feeling; in a sense thereby "subjectifying" rather than depersonalizing the various responses.

This method of inquiry has taken cognizance of these sorts of realities. In doing so, the construction of the research questionnaire aimed to enhance the positive aspects of anonymity. It aimed to achieve this by not requesting the name of each respondent. This, it should be stressed, was not for the sake of objectivity, but rather to reduce the chances of a restrained and impersonal response. Secondary pieces of demographic and geographic data that might generate a clearer geographical picture of the research area *were*, however, requested, and thus it was hoped that the place - and people-specific context of this project might be enhanced.

3.3.2 Questionnaire Design

Although the quantification of the certain responses was necessary as part of the final result, a conventional multiple choice questionnaire could not be used. The reason for this lay in the initial hypothesis of this project - whether the perception of potential impact generally corresponds with the reality of such an impact should it occur without intervening mitigatory initiatives. This hypothesis could not assume any predetermined categories of perception and cognition, because this researcher had not directly experienced the impact of UCT's purchases on either of the two affected communities under study. At best, some of the responses could be anticipated, while leeway had to be made for responses not initially accounted for. For this reason questions were set out in a structured open-ended format, and their responses categorized once all the interviews had been completed. The format of the questionnaires finally adopted is included in Appendix 1.

3.4 DATA COLLECTION AND COMPOSITION OF SAMPLE

Between the period December 1991 to February 1992, a total of 29 and 32 individuals from the Forest Hills and Liesbeek Gardens areas respectively, were interviewed. Since the validity of

certain statistical analyses can be questioned if the sample sizes are too small, the size of the populations sampled in this study warrant some discussion here.

The only statistical test applied in this study that demands a minimum population sample is the so-called Kolmogarov-Smirnov test. Daniel (1978) holds that the application of this statistical test may be used with samples as small as 20 and 21; and this was taken as ample justification for using sample sizes of size 29 and 30. This was confirmed with consultants from UCT's Department of Mathematical Statistics.

Because of the constrained geographical nature of the impact from each flat complex, the use of random sampling methods was deemed inappropriate. Rather, the method of sampling employed in this research was designed with the intention of targeting property owners living no more than three blocks from the student flats in question.

Personal experience derived from earlier research in Perceptual Analysis (Priilaid, 1989), suggested that those interviewed would not divulge the kind of information required if put under any time constraints. The length of time spent with each respondent would therefore need to be unspecified. As it was, the length of each interview ranged between five minutes and two hours.

In the process of conducting the research, many of the people in the study area were found to be absent during the day. In instances such as these, questionnaires were administered during the weekends or after working hours. There appeared to be little reason to believe that these discrepancies in sampling time would significantly alter the already subjective tone of the responses.

Apart from the interviewing of residents, a number of interviews were also held with certain local politicians and UCT planning and administrative officials. *The information gathered here was integrated within the more qualitative aspects of this report.*

3.5 ANALYSIS OF RESPONSE: MEASURING AND UNDERSTANDING ATTITUDES AND EMOTIONS

Emotions are never easy to interpret accurately. Harder still is the task of their statistical comparison. As Laws (in Hite, 1987, 776) has said, "most social scientists still avoid the study of feelings and attitudes, because of the difficulty in quantifying such studies." Such difficulty was also experienced when analysing certain aspects of this research's findings.

While some of the questions were designed to elicit one-word answers, others invited more elaborate responses. In instances such as these it became difficult to analyse and compare these responses with others and build them into statistical findings. It was, however, possible to overcome these difficulties.

To this end, the following approach was adopted. First, the various responses were charted. This done, it became possible to discern patterns and categories for the answers received. Numerical totals were then calculated for each category charted, and this procedure was carried through for each of the questions set. In so doing, statistical computation became possible. The conclusions made here were further supplemented by the less obvious non-statistical inferences read off the main chart, and in this manner, the validity of the initial hypothesis could finally be tested.

3.6 PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS

It should be obvious that the simple representation of a respondent's opinion does not constitute a means to investigating a social impact. People's statements are no reflection of the "reality" they experience. Attention to context, to assumptions unstated, and to matters implied yet unspoken also require explication by the researcher. A penetrating interpretation of subjective material requires a complex integration of more than just "matter of factually" reported speech.

An important element of this integration is its emphasis on induction. This is particularly important in the treatment of qualitative information. For Rowles (1982), the process of induction has two phases. The first occurs where dialogue itself becomes data, reflecting an

inductive process of two individuals seeking consensual understanding. This data is subsequently edited into "descriptive vignettes" (Rowles, 1982, 186).

The second phase of inductive inference, is what Rowles (1982, 187), calls "post-interaction reflection". It is in this phase that the descriptive vignettes are translated and transcribed for the purposes of academic scrutiny. In this way the researcher becomes a translator - attempting to impart the essence of each of the participant's subjective experiences as fully as possible. While also integrating the statistical inferences drawn from the qualitative sources of information, the presentation of the findings of this report attempt to do this.

In the following chapter, the results derived from the two study areas will be comparatively assessed. It is hoped that through this discussion on methodological procedure, a clearer understanding of this qualitative and quantitative comparison might emerge.

****

CHAPTER FOUR

QUANTITATIVE FINDINGS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

As already indicated in the opening chapter, the primary aim of this report is to test the hypothesis that *the analysis of perceptions of potential impact is a useful tool in gauging the nature and extent of such an impact.* In order that this aim might be accomplished, certain secondary objectives have been established. To repeat once more, these objectives are as follows:

1. To interview a representative population sample of each of the two residential communities living adjacent to Forest Hills and Liesbeek Gardens about the various impacts subsequent to and stemming from UCT's purchase of these flat complexes. From the information gathered through this process, it would be possible to -

2. draw out the *perceptions* of expected impact of local residents near Forest Hills, together with the *cognitions* of impact experienced by residents near Liesbeek Gardens. Having done this, one can -

3. comparatively assess these perceptions and cognitions, and in such a manner, be in a position to -

4. judge whether any correspondence exists between the perceptual and cognitive views of impact.

Ultimately, the validity of the original hypothesis rests upon the degree of such correspondence. Noting the above, it is towards the accomplishment of these secondary objectives that this report now turns.

As previously indicated, the information required for this research was obtained through the medium of a structured open-ended interview.

Table 1
Length of occupation in years

OCCUPATION (YEARS)	LIESBEEK GARDENS	FOREST HILLS
0	13	5
1	1	1
2	5	4
3	2	3
4	3	2
5	1	2
6	0	0
7	2	1
8	0	1
9	2	0
10	0	0
11	0	1
12	0	1
13	0	1
14	1	0
15	1	0
16	0	0
17	0	0
18	0	0
19	0	1
20	0	2
21	0	0
22	0	1
23	0	1
35	0	1
39	1	0
53	0	1
TOTALS	32	29

The first three questions aimed to establish some form of demographic identity for each of the study areas. The remainder of the questions were designed to draw out the various perceptions and cognitions of those living near Forest Hills and Liesbeek Gardens respectively. An analysis of the information gathered from these questions appears in the following section. Thereafter, an assessment comparing the perceptual and cognitive feedback received in questions four to eight is carried out.

4.2 RESULTS

4.2.1 Results of Question 1

The first question attempted to ascertain how long each of the residents had lived at their present addresses. Table 1 charts their responses.

The Mann Whitney Test applied to these two samples revealed a normal distribution statistic of 1.69, a value significant at the 10 percent level. Such a percentage does not permit a definitive conclusion, but it can be said at least, that there could possibly be a *degree* of difference between the two samples. Were such a difference to exist, however, it would *not be significant.*

4.2.2 Results of Question 2

The second question established the age of each resident. Age categories were then created in order to establish whether there was a significant difference between the two population age distributions. It was from these categories that an age distribution table could be drawn up. (See Table 2 overleaf).

Table 2
Age distribution functions observed

AGE LIMIT	< 20	0 - 29	0 - 49	0 - 59	0 - 69	0 - 99
FOREST HILLS	1/29 [0.035]	5/29 [0.172]	18/29 [0.621]	22/29 [0.759]	27/29 [0.931]	29/29 [1.000]
LIESBEEK GARDENS	3/32 [0.094]	21/32 [0.969]	29/32 [0.906]	29/32 [0.906]	30/32 [0.937]	32/32 [1.000]
DELTA * VALUE	-0.059	**-0.484**	-0.286	-0.148	0.006	0

* The 'Delta Value' is the Liesbeek Gardens 'fraction' subtracted from the Forest Hills 'fraction' directly above it. For example, the first delta figure (-0.059) is caluclated by 0.035 - 0.094 = -0.059.

From the above, it can be seen that the largest difference (shown in bold), is -0.484, the modal value of which is ***0.484***. According to Daniel (1978, 283), the one percent value of the Kolmogarov-Smirnov test is:

$$[1.63] \times [\text{the square of } (29 + 32)/(29 \times 32)] = 0.418$$

From the above, it can be seen that the age difference between the Forest Hills and Liesbeek Gardens population samples, is significant at the one percent level. The data gathered thus indicates that the samples are from two different populations with respect to age distribution.

The reason for this is not hard to find. The residential area surrounding Forest Hills comprises mostly old and well established single storey houses, while the residential area adjacent to the Liesbeek Gardens complex contains a number of other flat units. (These flat units are, however, no bigger than two or three storeys high and could therefore be considered as small when matched to Liesbeek Gardens). Compared to the cost of owning a house, the short-term option of renting a flat is a lot cheaper, and as a result, many students and other young people, through financial constraint or otherwise, have chosen to take up flat accommodation.

The result of this is that of all those people interviewed, *21 out of 32* in the Liesbeek Gardens area, and *5 out of 29* in the Forest Hills area were less than or equal to 30 years old. While this bipolar age distribution might appear somewhat unnatural, it is not uncharacteristic for the residential area that stretches from Mowbray to Rondebosch.

According to GAPS (1990), this area is dominated by people in the 15 to 24 age category, most of whom attend university. (37.3 percent or 4900 out of 13160 total fall within this age group). Because of the number of retirement homes in the area (five in all), this residential strip also contains an unusually high number of people in the 65+ age group. (2010 or 15.3 percent of

the total). These homes, together with the convenience of a good public transport system and numerous shops, libraries and theatres, make the Mowbray-Rondebosch area most desirable to elderly people.

In Mowbray itself, out of a total of 2950 residents, 900 (or 30.5 percent) and 400 (or 13.6 percent) are in the 15 to 24, and over 65 years age-groups, respectively (GAPS,1990). These figures compare accurately with the wider bipolar age distribution, and thus provide some indication of the potential for conflict within the local and wider area. Associated with each age group is a certain life style, and the greater the age discrepancy between each group, the greater will be the variance in life-style. From this it follows that a certain degree of conflict between the life-styles, values, expectations and attitudes of each of the dominant age groups in the area is inevitable. In the following chapter, more will be made of the potential for such conflict observed in the two population samples.

4.2.3 Results of Question 3

Question three set out to establish whether the resident owned or rented the property where he or she was presently residing. Whether one owned or rented could be considered to be an important factor, since a financial investment in one's residential abode would imply a deeper commitment to protecting it from any negative or potentially negative impacts. Tabulated, the results of this question appear as follows:

Table 3
Style of residential occupation

	OWNS	RENTS
FOREST HILLS AREA	25	4
LIESBEEK GARDENS AREA	20	12

To establish if there was any significant difference in the renting and ownership ratios of the Forest Hills and Liesbeek Gardens population samples, one could apply the Chi Squared Test. As Siegel (1956,104) notes, this test can be "used to determine the significance of difference between two independent groups". The Chi Squared value extrapolated from the above table indicated a 10 percent level of significance.

In terms of renting and owning, it can therefore be concluded, that at the *5 percent* level of significance, there is *no appreciable difference* between the residents living near Liesbeek Gardens and Forest Hills.

4.2.4 Results of Questions 4

Question Four asked residents in the vicinity of Liesbeek Gardens how they felt about UCT's purchase of Liesbeek Gardens. Similarly, it asked residents in the vicinity of Forest Hills how they felt about UCT's purchase of Forest Hills. Residents were invited to respond as feeling either:

[a] very happy,

[b] happy,

[c] neutral,

[d] unhappy or

[e] very unhappy.

and the tabulated form of their responses appears in Table 4 below:

Table 4
Residents' responses to UCT's purchase of the two flat complexes

	VERY HAPPY	HAPPY	NEUTRAL	UNHAPPY	VERY UNHAPPY
FOREST HILLS	0	0	14	10	5
LIESBEEK GARDENS	0	1	14	13	4

After examining the data, it was decided to combine the "very happy", "happy" and "neutral" categories. Siegel (1956, 46) recommends this procedure because, for both of the Forest Hills and Liesbeek Gardens study areas, the "happy" and "very unhappy" categories have expected frequencies below one.[11]

The fact that the merging of these categories occurred *after* an examination of the data also merits some comment here. (One should, in theory at least, combine categories before examining the data). In mitigation, it should be adequate enough to claim that, even from an *a priori* perspective, the final combination of categories appears the most obvious since, from the arguments posited in Section 4.2.2, very few residents would be expected to be happy about the influx of students in the area. By merging the first three categories, the final combination results in the following table:

Table 5
Residents' responses to UCT's purchase of the two flat complexes under merged categories

		VERY UNHAPPY	UNHAPPY	NEUTRAL TO VERY HAPPY	TOTALS
FOREST HILLS	Responses E. Freq*	5 4.28	10 10.93	14 13.79	29
LIESBEEK GARDENS	Responses E. Freq	4 4.72	13 12.07	15 15.21	32
TOTALS		9	23	29	61

*** The expected frequency can be computed thus: Exp(I,J) = (Row Total X Column Total)/N where N = the combined sum of the two population samples. Eg. 4.28 = (29 X 9)/61.**

Using the Chi Squared Test with 2 degrees of freedom, a probability value of less than 2.5 percent, but no more than 1 percent was extrapolated.

This figure is highly insignificant, and thus it can be concluded that between the respondents residing in areas adjacent to Forest Hills and Liesbeek Gardens, there is no significant difference in the *overall, or general response* towards UCT's purchasing of the two respective flat complexes. As it will be shown further on in this chapter, such a conclusion should *not* be

11 If the contingency table from which the Chi Squared value is computed contains too many expected frequencies of zero, the validity of the test becomes highly dubious (Larson,1982).

taken to imply the coincidence of the more *specific* positive and negative impressions of impact between the two population samples.

4.2.5 Results of Question 5

Question Five put the question, "Speaking for yourself, what *positive* aspects do you believe have emerged from UCT's purchase of Liesbeek Gardens/Forest Hills?" If residents requested some kind of prompting, examples such as "Helpful friendly people" or "A varied, vibrant community", were suggested. There was *no* limit on the number of positive aspects residents might wish to mention.

After compiling and reinterpreting the various expressions of opinion, nine positive categories emerged. Together with the "none" category, this added up to ten categories in all. The responses of residents in both the Forest Hills and Liesbeek Gardens areas are tabulated below.

Table 6

Positive aspects emerging from UCT's purchase of the flats

POSITIVE REACTIONS	FOREST HILLS	LIESBEECK GARDENS
FRUITFUL RELATIONSHIPS MAY OCCUR	1	1
FEEL MORE SECURE	2	3
INTEGRATION/TOLERANCE MAY BEGIN TO EMERGE	2	5
SOLVED UCT'S HOUSING CRISIS	6	1
A LIVELY AREA	2	1
UCT STRICT ON BAD CRIME	1	0
USE OF THE COMPLEX'S SWIMMING POOL	0	3
DROP IN TRAFFIC FLOW	1	1
INCREASE IN COMMERCE	1	0
NONE	16	22

Most noteworthy of the responses is the number who replied that there were no positive aspects emerging from UCT's residential purchases.

4.2.6 Results of Question 6

This question asked respondents which of those positive aspects they had noted in the previous question, was the *most important*. Details of the residents responses are given below (Table 7):

Table 7

Most positive aspects emerging from UCT's purchase of the flats

MOST POSITIVE REACTIONS	FOREST HILLS	LIESBEECK GARDENS
FRUITFUL RELATIONSHIPS MAY OCCUR	1	1
FEEL MORE SECURE	1	2
INTEGRATION/TOLERANCE MAY BEGIN TO EMERGE	1	3
SOLVED UCT'S HOUSING CRISIS	6	1
A LIVELY AREA	2	0
UCT STRICT ON BAD CRIME	1	0
USE OF THE COMPLEX'S SWIMMING POOL	0	2
DROP IN TRAFFIC FLOW	0	1
INCREASE IN COMMERCE	1	0
NONE	16	22
TOTALS	29	32

More shall be said about the significance of these figures later on in this chapter.

4.2.7 Results of Question 7

Essentially, this question mirrored Question Five, putting the question to local residents; "Speaking for yourself, what *negative* aspects do you believe have emerged from UCT's purchase of Liesbeek Gardens/Forest Hills?" In the instance of respondents seeking some suggestions, examples such as "Noise" or "Parking problems", were offered. Once more, there was *no* limit on the number of negative aspects residents might wish to mention.

At this point it should be noted that residents were asked to consider any positive aspects (questions 5 and 6), *before* mentioning any negative ones (questions 7 and 8). This was because of the knowledge that much of the local press coverage of the time had concentrated on the more *negative* aspects emerging as a result of the effects of UCT's purchasing Forest Hills and

Liesbeek Gardens. (See Cape Times 22 May 1991, 27 May 1991, and Argus, 2 May 1991, 13 June 1991.) Within the context of such visible negative public sentiment, there was a strong likelihood of respondents in the two study areas being so overtly prejudiced by this precedent of local negativity that they might *underplay or even ignore* any of the positive aspects also in existence. In order to lessen the effects of any such negative prejudice, it was deemed important that the question order should emphasise *first* the more positive and *then* the more negative aspects stemming from UCT's purchasing of Forest Hills and Liesbeek Gardens.

Table 8

Negative aspects emerging from UCT's purchase of the flats

NEGATIVE REACTIONS	FOREST HILLS	LIESBEECK GARDENS
NOISE IN GENERAL	25	30
POOL NOISE	0	7
PEDESTRIAN NOISE	3	7
PARTY NOISE	14	29
RACE AND CULTURE	6	2
DROP IN COMMERCE	1	0
DROP IN PROPERTY PRICES	3	2
RISE IN CRIME	2	3
EVICTION OF OLD TENANTS	7	1
ANTI UCT IN GENERAL	3	0
ANTI UCT IN THE AREA	3	2
DETERIORATION IN THE TONE OF THE AREA	4	1
DETERIORATION IN THE UPKEEP OF THE FLATS	5	1
INCREASE IN TRAFFIC AND TAXIS	3	1
NO PRIVACY	1	0
SQUATTING/SUB-LETTING	1	2
FOCUS ON POLITICAL ACTION	1	1
TOO MUCH TRAFFIC - NOT SAFE	1	2
DRUNK AND IMMORAL BEHAVIOUR	1	4
FLATS RACIST AND SEPARATIST	0	2
NONE	0	1

After interpreting the responses, twenty-two negative categories emerged. Thus the final sum, together with the "none" category, added up to twenty-three. The responses of residents in both the Forest Hills and Liesbeek Gardens areas are reflected in Table 8.

One of the most noticeable features of this table is the number of respondents who noted noise as being one of the negative impacts stemming from converting Liesbeek Gardens and Forest Hills into student residences.

4.2.8 Results of Question 8

In a similar fashion to Question 6, this, the final question, asked residents to indicate what they believed to be the *most* negative impact of the ones they had just identified. These impacts are listed below in Table 9.

Table 9

Most negative aspects emerging from UCT's purchase of the flats

MOST NEGATIVE REACTIONS	FOREST HILLS	LIESBEECK GARDENS
NOISE IN GENERAL	19	30
FLATS STILL RACIST AND SEPARATIST	2	0
EVICTION OF OLD TENANTS	0	1
ANTI UCT IN THE AREA	1	0
DETERIORATION IN THE TONE OF THE AREA	3	0
DETERIORATION IN THE UPKEEP OF THE FLATS	2	0
INCREASE IN TRAFFIC AND TAXIS	1	0
TOO MUCH TRAFFIC - NOT SAFE	1	0
NONE	0	1
TOTALS	29	32

Perhaps the most significant information to emerge from this table, is the fact that, for some 94 percent of the residents in the Liesbeek Gardens area, noise proved to be the most severe of the negative impacts experienced. This was not the case for residents near Forest Hills. Only 66 percent of this population sample perceived that noise would be the major impact. This discrepancy of nearly 30 percent is significant, and will be elaborated upon later.

4.3 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN COGNITION AND PERCEPTION

As it was pointed out in the second chapter, perception and cognition are two dimensions of mental attitude; and it is a question of tense that differentiates between these two dimensions. *While cognition deals with what has already occurred; perception deals with what has yet to occur.* Working from this definition, it can be argued that at base, cognition is therefore actualised experience; and perception, educated guess-work. Since the use of perceptions is

often crucial to long-term planning, it was important to establish whether there was any significant difference between cognition and perception. This section, perhaps the most crucial of the entire report outlines the assessment technique in doing just that.

All but the first three questions leveled at the residents near Forest Hills and Liesbeek Gardens were aimed to draw out the perceptions and cognitions (respectively) of both the negative *and* positive affects of UCT's property purchases in each of the two areas. There were two reasons behind this. The first was to compare the *positive* perceptions of people near Forest Hills with the *positive* cognitions of people near Liesbeek Gardens. The second involved essentially the same process, but here it was the *negative* perceptions and cognitions that required comparative assessment. The following two sub-sections show how these two forms of assessment were carried out.

4.3.1 Positive Perceptions versus Positive Cognitions

Critical to a successful comparison of positive perceptions and cognitions, is the testing of a null hypothesis that claims that in Question Six, there is no significant difference between the positive responses (ie: the perceptions and cognitions) of the two populations sampled. As in section 4.2.4, the original categories of positive response proved too unwieldy for statistical manipulation. In order to either prove or disprove this hypothesis, it therefore became necessary to group the *most positive* responses of each population sample into the categories indicated in the following table (Table 10):

Table 10
Revised categories of Positive Impact

PEOPLE RELATED	PRACTICALITY RELATED	NONE
INTEGRATION/TOLERANCE	FEEL MORE SECURE	
FRUITFUL RELATIONSHIPS	UCT'S HOUSING CRISIS SOLVED	
LIVELY AREA	LESS TRAFFIC	
	INCREASE IN COMMERCE	
	DROP IN CRIME	

Using this formulation, the following 3 x 2 contingency table (Table 11) was constructed. (Expected frequencies are given in italics.)

Table 11
Residents' responses to the most positive of UCT's residential impacts

		PEOPLE	PRACTICAL	NONE	TOTALS
FOREST HILLS	Responses E. Freq	4 *4.75*	9 *6.18*	16 *18.07*	29
LIESBEEK GARDENS	Responses E. Freq	6 *5.25*	4 *6.82*	22 *19.93*	32
TOTALS		10	13	38	61

Applying the Chi Squared Test to Table 11 with two degrees of freedom, the derived Chi Squared statistic reveals a significance at the 25 percent level but not at the 10 percent level. The implication here is that the probability that the original null hypothesis holds, lies somewhere in the region of between 10 and 25 percent. In other words, *statistically at least, there appears to be a minor degree of difference between the positive cognitions and positive perceptions stemming from the Liesbeek Gardens and Forest Hills study areas respectively.*

4.3.2 Negative Perceptions versus Negative Cognitions

As in the preceding section, if any conclusions were to be drawn as to the differences and/or similarities between negative perception and negative cognition of impact, a null hypothesis had to be postulated. In this case, the hypothesis contended that, in Question Seven, there is no significant difference between the negative responses (ie: the perceptions and cognitions) of the two populations sampled.

Once more, the original categories (of negative response) proved statistically cumbersome, and a regrouping of the most negative of the responses of each population sample became necessary. This regrouping followed a logic similar to that used in Section 4.3.1. The regrouped categories in Table 12 below:

Table 12
Revised categories of negative impact

PEOPLE RELATED	PRACTICALITY RELATED	NOISE
LACK OF INTEGRATION	NOT SAFE	
TENANT EVICTIONS	FLATS DETERIORATE	
RESENTMENT OF UCT	INCREASE IN TRAFFIC	
	DROP IN TONE OF AREA	

The inclusion of "none" under the "people related" category is questionable from an intuitive point of view, but its inclusion makes little or no practical difference since, out of all those interviewed, only one person gave this answer.

The following 3 x 2 contingency table (Table 13) integrates the above three categories with the responses drawn from those in the Forest Hills and Liesbeek Gardens study areas. Once more, the expected frequencies are displayed in italics.

Table 13
Residents' responses to the most negative of UCT's residential impacts

		NOISE	PEOPLE	PRACTICAL	TOTALS
FOREST HILLS	Responses E. Freq	19 *23.30*	3 *2.38*	7 *3.33*	29
LIESBEEK GARDENS	Responses E. Freq	30 *25.70*	2 *2.62*	0 *3.67*	32
TOTALS		49	5	7	61

Using two degrees of freedom the Chi Squared value derived from this Table is significant at the 1 percent level. There is therefore more than a 99 percent probability that the inverse of the null hypothesis is correct.

From the above it can therefore be concluded that *there appears to be a highly significant degree of difference between the negative cognitions and negative perceptions stemming from the Liesbeek Gardens and Forest Hills study areas respectively.*

Having outlined the statistical treatment of the data obtained from this survey, the task now, is to supplement these results with the more *qualitative* aspects of the research conducted. In so doing, it is hoped that ultimately, a more conclusive and insightful interpretation of these results might be possible.

CHAPTER FIVE

QUALITATIVE FINDINGS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In conducting this research, it became apparent that the impact-related concerns of those living near Forest Hills, differed in various ways with those residents living near Liesbeek Gardens. This fact is corroborated by the empirical findings of the previous chapter. However, this study was not conducted simply to extract and process manipulable data. Quantitative analysis alone can not do justice to the full story of this report, for it is limited by its statistical abstraction. As shall be shown here, the quantitative aspects of this research on the other hand, do provide some of the clearest insights into the specific situations under study.

During an analysis of the interview transcripts, it did appear that much of what could not be statistically transposed, was still valuable because it gave further dimension to understanding the often very personal problems at hand. Some of the people interviewed were relieved that someone might actually be interested in what they believed to be an injustice. Others simply wanted to tell their story, to express their feelings and to be heard.

While analysing the interview transcripts, a number of distinct, yet inter-related issues emerged. Whilst these appear already in Chapter Four, their verbal articulation and elaboration here adds a further dimension to the viewpoints of those in the Forest Hills and the Liesbeek Gardens study areas. Specifically, the major concerns were: *noise, race and culture, integration, and the residential sentiment towards UCT.* Each of these will now be discussed in turn.

5.2 NOISE

One of the more salient features identified in the findings of the previous chapter was that for almost all (30 out of 32) of the residents interviewed in the vicinity of Liesbeek Gardens, the most negative cognition of impact, was noise. As already stated, while the majority of residents

near Forest Hills perceived noise as the most negative of all potential impacts, it was a majority by no means as overwhelming as that found in the Liesbeek Gardens instance.

More striking than this feature however, is the degree to which the *nature and duration* of noise in the Liesbeek Gardens area, could be specified. In all, residents near Liesbeek Gardens could categorise noise into three forms: party noise, pedestrian noise and noise from the swimming-pool area of the respective flat complex. It is important to note that all of these categories can be applied to Forest Hills. In the final analysis however, the residents in the Liesbeek Gardens area far outnumbered those near Forest Hills in the instance of the ability to categorise and specify types of noise.

Pool noise emerged as the least obtrusive of the three categories, affecting only some of the residents of Ayres Street (See Map 2 on page 12) some of the time. (Ayres Street is the street adjacent to the Liesbeek Gardens swimming-pool). Those who did express dissatisfaction in this regard, held that noise from the swimming-pool area was most disturbing over weekends - especially on Sunday afternoons.

For those living near Liesbeek Gardens, the most disturbing of all, was the party noise. As one resident in Hornsey Road put it, "*They want the whole world to know they have hi-fi sets*". But it was more than just music, he assured me. It was also "*the screeching and shouting at the top of their voices.*" Another interviewee in Sidney Road agreed, maintaining that the noise was not only music, but screaming and shouting as well. "*You can hear everything*", she maintained. A resident in Hornsey Road did not mince his words - "*drunken debauchery*" was what he called it, specifically over the weekend between 10pm and 3am. Others disputed this time frame. Some believed the weekend parties would begin on Friday afternoon, continuing till four or even five in the morning, and then begin afresh that next Saturday afternoon. This was true, said another, "*One Saturday afternoon, they all threw bottles at each other.*" "*I don't know why*" she added.

One resident in Sydney Road pointed out that the police were overwhelmed with complaints of excessive music and drunken screaming, but that they could not do anything since UCT owned

the property. She herself had complained to the warden, and one desperate occasion had even phoned Vice Chancellor, Stuart Saunders at four in the morning, but to no avail. Fining the students did not help either, she added bitterly; the students have entrance fees at further parties to help pay off the fines already incurred. In such a situation, she concluded, she felt helpless. Another resident agreed, adding that she had resorted to wearing ear-plugs.

The issue of pedestrian noise compounded these other problems, as some residents complained that students living in the Liesbeek Gardens complex tended to make excessive noise in the streets.

Said one resident in Ayres street, "*They walk up the road at night, talking at the top of their voices.*" Another in the same street agreed, "*They talk very loudly and this is especially intrusive at eleven at night when the area is quiet and sound carries.*" Another resident in Sydney Road put it differently; "*They walk up and down the road all day long. This shouldn't happen in a residential area.*"

What exactly it was that should not be happening was never made clear by this resident, but the inference here could be construed as racial. Many residents in the area were however quick to point out that it was specifically about the noise that they were complaining, and not the "blackness" of the noisemakers. As one of the local residents put it, "*If they didn't make such a noise, it wouldn't matter who lived there.*" The question of race and culture was also an important issue for residents in the Forest Hills study area. In this respect therefore, it is a question that requires further explication.

5.3 RACE AND CULTURE

Included amongst the numerous determinants that influence the workings of society, are factors like culture, tradition and education. The influence of these factors is in turn determined by the specific circumstances of the prevailing spatial context (Harvey, 1975). In many ways therefore, the fabric of South African society, (in particular, the urban constituent), has been defined by the socio-spatial framework of Apartheid. Through this framework, and its

predecessor, Settler Colonialism (Davies, 1976), racial separation has been legally enforced[13]. Because of this, South African society has had little experience of racial integration. With the scrapping of the Group Areas Act in 1990, such integration has become possible. The realization of such integration is however, by no means an easy task to accomplish, since the institutional controls of apartheid have created *a society that is in many instances racially intolerant*[14] and that will remain so long after the last pieces of apartheid-related legislation have been repealed (Robinson, 1992).

Despite this - for an area such as Mowbray, situated as it is on the fringes of a large tertiary educational institution like UCT, one might expect a liberal tolerance to differences - be they religious, political or racial. Within the context of this report, such tolerance was evident, for when interviewing residents, there were seldom instances of explicit intolerance of race. Any intolerance that was observed was born of the fact that as one resident near Liesbeek Gardens put it: "*the expression of blacks is more loud, more open.*" The general consensus amongst residents near Liesbeek Gardens thus appeared to be that as long as noise was reasonably restricted in terms of its volume and duration, it did not matter who lived in the flat complex. On many occasions, residents living proximate to Liesbeek Gardens made it clear that they were not wishing to "*make a racial thing*" about the noise level.

None the less, it is difficult to conclude whether residents near Liesbeek Gardens were unhappy about the noise *per sé*, or unhappy because the noise makers were Black. Resolution of this debate can perhaps be found by noting the concerns of negative impact as articulated by residents interviewed in the Forest Hills area. Nineteen of these twenty-nine residents *did* perceive noise to the most negative of potential impacts. The remaining 10 residents did not articulate negative impacts that could be construed as being racist in nature. It is therefore

13 Such laws include, for example, the Housing Act (1929), the Natives Urban Areas Act (1923), the Slums Act (1934), the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act (1951) and the Community Development Act (1966) (Christopher, 1989 in Kahn, 1991).

14 A racial group should be seen here "as a social grouping distinguished from others by physical criteria" (Greenberg, 1980, 5). It is upon these criteria that racial differentiation can occur. Such differentiation may also be taken as a form of ethnic differentiation. In this instance, groups are distinguished more broadly by cultural criteria, where differing ideas and practices are held to be closely associated to physical differences (Enloe, 1973).

reasonable to conclude that there is little or no reason to suspect any of the residents interviewed of overt racism or bigotry. Whether or not a degree of covert racism exists is also a contentious issue, and could perhaps become an area of further research.

5.4 INTEGRATION

This chapter has already made mention of the integration issue, and of how, since the scrapping of the Group Areas Act, the potential for a racially integrated South Africa has finally come to exist. That avowedly non-racial institutions like UCT have over the years come to represent a picture of what this integration should look like, seems to be a notion that holds popular currency in many circles. The university residences in particular, are often thought to be the bench marks of racial harmony and integration. But is this really so? While interviewees were never asked about the success or otherwise of integration in UCT or its residences, some of the comments indicate that opinion is divided on this issue.

One resident believed that UCT's conversion of Liesbeek Gardens into a student residence was a positive step towards proper integration. "*Having Blacks in the area is a normalizing process*," he said, adding that "*it means we're really getting places.*" Less than a block away, another resident disagreed strongly. "*Why are there only Blacks in Liesbeek Gardens?*" she asked. "*This is not integration under any circumstances. If it* [Liesbeek Gardens] *was mixed, some locals wouldn't be so hostile*" and so prone to "*making scathing remarks of ox braais on the* [Liesbeek Gardens] *roof.*" "*Locals*", she concluded, "*view the students as foreigners. They are not used to Blacks.*"

Such a view point it seems, was also common to some residents in the Forest Hills area. Referring to the expected influx of UCT students into Forest Hills, one resident in Osbourne Road stated that "*The whole road appears worried about the impending circus. These students must just be civilized.*" While not being explicitly racist, such a comment could be taken as referring to Black outsiders invading a White and nominally "civilized" residential enclave.

From comments such as these, it seems that if integration is to occur, some work is required on the part of the students and the residents. Not only is there a need for a mutual understanding of each other's cultural values and attitudes, but, for both parties, there is also for a need for a common tolerance and sensitivity to these respective cultural viewpoints. Tentative suggestions of how this could occur appear in the next chapter.

The question of how UCT could better integrate its spatial relations within the local residential environment is also important. As the following subsection will show, such integration could occur particularly in the instance of Liesbeek Gardens and Forest Hills.

5.5 ATTITUDES OF LOCAL RESIDENTS TOWARDS UCT

Many of the issues under scrutiny in this study fall within what could loosely be termed the "town and gown syndrome". This is a situation, particularly in university towns like Oxford or Cambridge in the United Kingdom, or even Grahamstown in the Eastern Cape, where ordinary towns-folk are continually at odds with the academics, especially students. Underpinning this syndrome in South Africa is the question of racial and cultural intolerance already discussed thus far.

Notwithstanding any such intolerance, many of the more senior residents interviewed in this study were unhappy not simply with the students of Liesbeek Gardens and Forest Hills, but with the entire UCT establishment as well. As it was stated in the opening chapter of this report, the reasons for such unhappiness stemmed from:

1. The University's purchasing of certain blocks of flats in the local area;

2. Their filling these flats with predominantly Black undergraduate students;

3. Their inability to control the general behaviour (in particular the level of noise) of these students; and

4. Their unwillingness or inability to express their intentions concerning the long-term spatial development of the campus with the wider and affected residential community.

In examining the qualitative aspects of what was said by residents near both Liesbeek Gardens and Forest Hills, one was constantly struck by the vehemency, intensity and anger of impact depiction. Referring to UCT's incursion into the local residential fabric, one elderly resident in Roughmore Road near Forest Hills said, "*UCT's ongoing purchases are turning Rondebosch into a behemoth*15. *UCT is taking over the whole damn place.*" One of the residents in Selford Road believed that no one in the area knew what UCT was doing. "*UCT is destroying the Rosebank area systematically*", she added a little later.

While the statistics derived in chapter four, might give an indication of the *uniformity* of residential sentiment about the volume, frequency and duration of noise stemming from Liesbeek Gardens, it cannot give expression to the degree of rage, helplessness and frustration felt by so many of those interviewed in this area. One of the residents near Liesbeek Gardens resented deeply the way UCT had taken over the flat complex. "*The block is illegally theirs as far as I'm concerned. For seven years I was unaware of the flats. Then UCT took over.*" According to a resident in Hornsey Road, her attempts to address the noise issue by complaining to UCT had made "*no difference.*"

A member of the university lecturing staff living near Forest Hills noted that since many of the apartments in the complex were empty, the university was showing everyone how *not* to manage the purchase of a large block of flats. UCT is "*financially incompetent*", he claimed. Another resident in Osbourne Road appeared to agree, suggesting that the best thing to do would be to "*close UCT down*".

As can be seen by the various comments quoted in this chapter, the impacts stemming from UCT's presence in the local area, and in particular, from their purchases of Liesbeek Gardens and Forest Hills, have evoked a considerable degree of reaction on the part of the surrounding residential community. It was on the quantifiable relationship of two subsets of this wider community, that Chapter Four was focussed; showing how, in certain respects, the perceptions of one group could be shown to differ from the cognitions of another. The following and

15 According to the Concise Oxford Dictionary (1959, p.106), a behemoth is "a huge and monstrous thing".

concluding chapter of this report is an attempt to interpret the implications that any such differences might have on the practice of Social Impact Assessment.

****

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSIONS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

In this final chapter, the conflict that has occurred between local residents and the students and administrators of UCT is reviewed and elaborated upon. Recommendations are then made as to how this conflict could be more effectively managed, if not solved. This done, the main results of this study are presented, significant features of these findings discussed and finally, their implications in terms of wider SIA theory and practice are discussed. While a report of this nature has focused on what is a relatively theoretical and philosophical aspect of SIA, the practical ramifications, it suggests, are profound.

6.2 THE CONFLICT REVIEWED

Marxist-structuralists like Harvey (1975) and Castells (1977) have argued that the process of suburbanisation has fractured urban populations and splintered any unified form of community cohesion. They would add also that this process of breaking down communities has been responsible for much of the helplessness experienced in residential societies when attempting to deal with the problem of conflict.

While local authority procedures *do* exist specifically to confront such instances of conflict, these do not constitute a panacea and are not without criticism. The most penetrating of these addresses the assumption on which such ward-based spatial representation rests: that urban conflict has a definite geographical distribution with causal links. This assumption, theorists like Harvey (1973) and Norris (1979) would claim, is an ecological fallacy, for although it is likely that an area-based approach might help to alleviate some of the symptoms of urban conflict, an approach of this nature is unlikely to confront its causes.

With the above in mind, structuralists would interpret UCT's property purchases and the resultant conflict between itself and local residents rather as a spatial manifestation representative of the developmental imperatives of certain economic power cliques and fractions of capital acting in the Cape Town suburbs of Mowbray, Rosebank and Rondebosch. Widening the focus of this interpretation, it can also be seen that these imperatives have been driven by other more regional developmental imperatives: exorbitant building costs and a lack of alternative student accommodation options in the Cape Town metropole, for example. In turn, these determinants have been spawned by others acting on an yet wider scale. The necessary, yet problematic rearrangements required for a more just, equitable and politically acceptable post-Apartheid city are an apt example in this instance (Robinson, 1992).

The logical conclusion of this analysis presents a thesis which argues that locally based conflicts are precipitated through an inverted pyramid of cause-and-effect which finds its origins in the socio-political and economic superstructure. The accumulative ambition of capital, the practices, values, institutions and ideologies of society are all embedded within this superstructure. Clearly therefore, if the inherent inconsistencies and contradictions of the superstructure are not addressed, any inadequacies within it will be manifested in symptoms of spatial conflict. It follows from this that as long as inequitable power-relations remain, incidents of conflict will continue to occur. As a corollary, it should be added that in the absence of structural change, the need for the ongoing development of conflict management skills remains imperative. Such skills, as Thompson & Williams (1986) point out, fall well within the ambit of the professional Social Impact Analyst.

The above argument holds that urban conflict is generally the combined outcome of both wider structural inadequacies, *and* also a badly managed urban process. This compounded effect is exemplified in the study at hand. Here, the resultant conflict appears as two components: the first derives essentially from Marxist analysis dealing with *the economic conflict occurring in the property market between UCT and local residents*. The second is more Weberian dealing with the *racial intolerance, ethnic group prejudice, intolerance and conflict* precipitated by differences in cultural values and practices. Both components of course, were born of the

influences of political pressure, political expediency and social justice which ultimately prompted UCT into purchasing the flat-complexes in the first place.

In order that the resultant conflict might be better understood, it is important therefore that each of these sub-components be addressed in turn. While this is a task not *directly* related to the central objective of this report, an analysis of these issues has *practical implications* for the area under study which will be discussed later.

6.2.1 THE ECONOMIC CONFLICT

Many of the residents spoken to felt unhappy that UCT, simply because it had more capital at its disposal, had assumed the right to purchase whatever properties it wished to, regardless of the wishes of those most directly affected by such decisions. Financially limited, these residents felt constrained and helpless about the "economic muscle" that UCT had brought to bear in the local area. For local residents certainly, the fact that this institution could better the price of almost any competitor did in no way legitimize its purchasing of residential complexes like Liesbeek Gardens and Forest Hills.

However, that UCT has attempted to appease this local anger in terms of the "corridor of development" agreed to by itself and the City Council deserves recognition. This agreement, already referred to in the opening chapter, would effectively channel UCT's spatial development into a specific area, thus reducing the likelihood of conflict outside this corridor.

Nevertheless, accepting these intentions as UCT's attempt to adopt a more coherent and publicly acceptable planning policy, this agreement has done little to appease local anger. Indeed, interviews revealed that, since this agreement had not received any press coverage, many of the local residents were completely unaware of its existence. The suppression of such information is unfair, if not politically dishonest, particularly for the residents interviewed in the Forest Hills area - all of whom *live* in this corridor. In the interests of all parties concerned, and in particular of these potentially affected residents, this agreement should have been made public.

While such a disclosure might shock and anger the neighbouring residents of Forest Hills, the sharing of such information would signify UCT's willingness to be more participative and open in its development strategy, and would, if couched within an appropriately conceived development process, do much to improve this institution's somewhat tarnished reputation in the wider area.

6.2.2 THE "RACIAL" ISSUE

Compared with White people, so it was argued in the previous chapter, Black people are observed to be less inhibited and more expressive in the way they communicate. Such expressiveness, or lack thereof, can generally be attributed to the values and practices associated with one's cultural orientation, and the possibilities of cultural conflict will increase the more the orientations differ. This study provides a case in point. Here, members of a more reserved ethnic group have come to interpret moments of social openness and vocal expression in another grouping as rowdiness and inconsiderate noise. This distinction is important, for rooted within it lies an interpretation that can easily be construed as racist. White people, residents in the surrounding area asserted, would never cause the commotion currently being created by the Black students living in Liesbeek Gardens. Such an assertion, certainly, should be taken seriously, for by far the most significant negative impact stemming from the occupation of Liesbeek Gardens by Black students, was the impact of noise.

As has already been argued, a degree of racial intolerance is inevitable in South Africa. While this is understandable, not every noise complaint is necessarily underpinned by racial intolerance - as is sometimes assumed. For example, the frustration and anger of being woken up at 4am by loud music and drunken screaming should *not* be interpreted as racial intolerance. Repeated instances of such audible intrusion *can* however eventually lead to stereotyping the source of the intrusion and outbursts of privately and even publicly expressed racial intolerance. This has no doubt occurred in this conflict.

On the count of racism UCT is certainly not guiltless either for, wittingly or unwittingly, by establishing student residences like Liesbeek Gardens and Forest Hills, it has fostered the creation of nothing more than a network of racially exclusive enclaves. Despite its attempts to mix students from established residences, these two flat complexes have, for all intents and purposes become Black residences. In no way has this "gettoization policy" - for this is as it appears to many - served UCT's cause. Indeed, it is considered a manifestation of an ideologically inspired development approach which amounts to "reverse Apartheid planning". This is ironic when one considers the historical stand taken by UCT against any racially determined practices.

Accepting UCT's accounted role within the racial conflict as it exists, the question of noise control needs still to be addressed, for to date, UCT's inability to regulate the behaviour of its students remains unacceptable to residents neighbouring the two flat complexes. This said, the manner in which any such regulation occurs ought to be well considered if it is to begin the fostering of a spirit of racial tolerance and understanding between all in the area.

UCT could well apply stricter measures of control upon its students, and, as has been suggested in certain circles, the introduction of a code of conduct might be an appropriate starting point. Another might be the implementation of more effective channels of communication between local residents and the relevant authorities of UCT. The implementation and public announcement of such measures would contribute significantly towards reducing current levels of resentment and unhappiness evident in so much of the local community. The mediating role that the Cape Town City Council and the local Ratepayers Association could play in this regard, should not be overlooked.

It should be remembered however that in all of these and other such measures, of critical importance is the *manner* in which UCT facilitates the necessary dialogue-process between the various players in the conflict. Such negotiation can be either good or bad, depending on the manner in which it is handled.

With hindsight, the manner in which UCT has "administered" the conflict to date can only be described as bad.

In deciding upon its initial developmental options, for example, UCT failed to negotiate, consult or even inform any of the potentially interested or affected parties of its intentions. Instead it "dropped in from nowhere", giving residents in the area little or no option on the Liesbeek Gardens purchase issue. Similarly, the later "corridor of development" agreement between itself and the City Council was based on the opinion of planning specialists - again - with little or no consultation with any of the residents concerned. In effect, it was an agreement forged on the sectarian notion of many professionals that the end of development justifies the means by which it is achieved (Yap, 1990, Taylor, Bryan & Goodrich, 1990). While development *is* about product and about outcome, it also about *process*. As Ron Kraybill of UCT's Centre for Intergroup studies writes:

> The most critical skill for leaders in any setting is to learn to "think process". This is true in the best of circumstances, but even more so where polarisation is high and trust is low. Outcomes are important, to be sure, and every political leader must have one in mind. But outcomes are worthless if process is bad. Key parties will reject the best of ideas and proposals if they are created in processes they find objectionable (Kraybill, *The Star*, 1991).

So too will be the case when UCT finally unveils its development corridor plans to residents neighboring Forest Hills. Future development in the area can only proceed in a manner that is acceptable to the key parties concerned if a process of development-design is negotiated in a manner that is acceptable to all. It is axiomatic therefore that all such parties should be more than co-owners of the development in question; they should be co-designers as well (Susskind, McMahon & Roley, 1987, Kraybill, 1991). Should UCT wish to pursue a form of local development that is perceived to be just and equitable to its students, its planners and its neighbours, the qualitative aspects of such "process thinking" could well assist in its endeavours.

This said, local levels of trust are extremely low and generally, local views of UCT appear negative and entrenched. Moreover, as has been pointed out, UCT has been engaged in a two

year process of development that has appeared unsympathetic and hostile to local sentiment. It will now prove extremely difficult for UCT simply to disengage from this process and initiate a new, more inclusivist approach. However, should UCT wish to plan *with*, instead of *against* the residents of Rondebosch, Rosebank and Mowbray, there appear to be few reasonable alternatives. Should it not, the perceived dichotomy between what UCT professes and what UCT does will continue to grow. The conflict existing between itself and local residents, will moreover, continue to remain unresolved.

6.3 SUMMATION OF STUDY FINDINGS

The central objective of this study endeavour was to test the hypothesis:

> *that the analysis of perceptions of potential impact is a useful tool in gauging the nature and extent of such an impact.*

This hypothesis was to be tested at two levels: the general and the specific. At the general the *overall* perceptions and cognition (or mediated perceptions) of impact were compared by asking residents from each area their opinions about UCT's purchasing of the flat complex most immediate to them. In this instance, responses could vary between "very happy" to "very unhappy". In the instance of residents adjacent to Forest Hills, 14 were neutral, 10 unhappy and 5 were very unhappy. For residents adjacent to Liesbeek Gardens, 14 were neutral, 13 unhappy and 4 were very unhappy. The statistical test applied to the data revealed that there was *no critical difference between the two sets of responses.*

The second and more *specific* level of testing dealt with the cognitions and perception of both positive and negative impact. Two tests were applied at this level, the first of which aimed to compare the cognitions and perceptions of *positive impact.* The second test mirrored the first, excepting that here, it was the perception and cognitions of *negative impacts* that required statistical comparison.

The results derived from the first test suggest that the *perceptions and cognitions of positive impact are statistically different from each other.* Such a difference it must be stressed, is not highly significant, and it would therefore be unwise to draw any conclusions from this.

From the results of the second of these more specific tests, it was concluded that *in the instance of negative impact, there appeared to be a highly significant degree of difference between the perceptions and cognitions* stemming from the Forest Hills and Liesbeek Gardens areas, respectively.

6.4 SIGNIFICANT FEATURES OF THESE FINDINGS

The above findings reveal two significant features. The first is that when comparing perceptions and cognitions at a *general* level, there appears to be a high degree of correspondence. The second is that at a more *specific* level, where respondents are asked to identify the most positive and negative forms of impact, there *does appear* to be some difference between cognition and perception.

At this stage, it would be useful to summarise the nature of the perceived impacts versus the nature of those more cognitively experienced impacts. In this instance, impacts were divided into three categories. These were noise related, people related and practically related impacts. (Refer back to Chapter 4 for details.) In the Forest Hills study-area, respective totals for each of these impacts were: 19, 3 and 7. In the Liesbeek Gardens study area however, the totals were 30, 2 and 0. It is clear therefore that noise featured predominantly in both areas, but overwhelmingly in the Liesbeek Gardens area. Importantly, as the previous chapter pointed out, residents in this area were also able to specify the nature and duration of noise. This was not the case in the Forest Hill area.

Why, one should ask should such variance occur at one level, and not at the other?

It is suggested here that the reason for the apparent divergence at the impact-specific level, is a function of time lag: while one impact had already occurred, the other had not even begun. In a situation such as this, it would seem reasonable to assume that the cognitions of an ongoing impact would be mediated by past experience[16] - while the perceptions of an as yet undetermined impact would at best, be based on hearsay, logical anticipation and intuition. There is consequently little chance that those relying on their perceptive powers would be able to relate the specificities of an impact as accurately as those employing cognised experience.

This theory would account for the disparities at the impact-specific level, and would also explain the correspondence at the general level. At this level, residents were asked to express how they *felt* about UCT's purchase of the respective flat complexes. Their responses were therefore *emotional* in content - ranging from very happy to very unhappy. However, when describing the impacts that they felt to be the most negative or positive, the responses were impact-specific and therefore *unemotional.* The implication here is that where emotion is concerned, perception corresponds closely with cognition. Conversely, when perceptions are employed to identify the nature of the impact that is causing (or more accurately, will cause) the specified emotion, there is little correspondence with the eventual reality of such an impact.

It would appear therefore, that the analysis of perceptions of potential impact should not be considered a useful tool in gauging the nature and extent of a potential impact - should such an impact occur without any intervening mitigatory measures. This conclusion would seem to directly contradict the original hypothesis of this report.

Certain important implications can be drawn from such a conclusion: implications which reach to the heart of Social Impact Assessment.

16 The issue of subjectivity is of little relevance here, since the respondents in both the Liesbeek Gardens and Forest Hills areas were giving subjective opinions. The difference here however was that one set of opinions were based on occurrence, while the other was based on speculation.

6.5 THE IMPLICATIONS

When undertaking a perceptual analysis, it is inevitable that the social impact assessor will ask of him - or herself, "What *exactly* am I doing this for?" The dominant and natural role of SIA would be that of predicting and then assessing social impacts. The role of perceptual analysis, as was pointed out in the opening chapter, is considered, pivotal here. It is thought that through such analysis, less quantifiable social impacts can be identified, and where necessary, appropriate measures can be formulated and timeously inserted within the planning process to mitigate against these.

This study suggests that when predicting specific future impacts, particularly negative ones, the use of perceptions unmediated by information accumulated through past experience, is inexact, even perhaps inappropriate. Assuming firstly, that SIA should, by definition, have as its central endeavour the providing of information on the effects of any envisaged development, and secondly, that this cannot be done if part of its analytic framework is defective, the import of such a finding should not be underestimated. For, in challenging the predictive ability of Perceptual Analysis, in effect, it also identifies a major methodological limitation within the field of Social Impact Assessment.

Postmodern writers would assert further that even if planning on the basis of perceptions could reveal the nature of any potential impact, there is little reason to believe that its incorporation within the wider planning process would be of much benefit to the common good (Dear, 1986; Cloke, Philo and Sadler, 1991). Planning, they would claim is essentially a modernist concern based on outmoded models of social evolution and the urban space-economy. In an age of uncertainty and seemingly random change, the predictive ideals of planning show little regard for context or sensitivity towards difference, and are therefore ill equipped to deal with the restless and highly differentiated urban landscape of today.

This said, the findings of this report *do* reveal that when assessing potential developmental impacts, the use of perceptual analysis can at least provide an accurate indicator of the emotional response. To this extent however, such a technique would be effecting no more than a

somewhat elaborate method of gauging public opinion. Not withstanding the importance of acknowledging such opinion, the implications of this are important, for if the discipline were to reduce itself to this level, it would, for all intents and purposes, be invalidating its specified professional function of Social Impact *Assessment.* (Without the assessment of social impact, the discipline of Social Impact Assessment would become a contradiction in terms.)

It could be construed that this kind of deconstruction is tantamount to sawing off the branch on which one is sitting, and yet it should be clear that even within the limited context of this research project, the application of perceptual theory is *not working* as well as it should be.

If one is to take this conclusion seriously, one should then ask "Where to now?" In addressing this question, Thompson & Williams (1986, 65) put it that apart from mere impact assessment, practitioners of Social Impact Assessment should also perform a number of alternative roles. The nature of these roles was quoted in the opening chapter, and for the purposes of this discussion, bears repetition.

> ... [T]he dominant role of the SIA practitioner is not to add credibility to projects or to legitimize actions of project sponsors, but to analyze probable impacts, facilitate public involvement in the planning process, assist potentially affected parties to be involved in mitigation negotiation processes, and to ensure that legitimate and effective processes are used in negotiating and decision-making.

Implicit in the above, conflict mediation would appear to be an additional function of SIA critical in the mitigation of the various negative effects that can emerge from development. Although impact-assessment implies a *pro-active* procedure that negates the need for solving conflicts, from the argument presented in Section 6.1, it seems quite clear that as long as the social, political and economic inadequacies of the super-structure remain unattended to, social conflict *does and will continue* to manifest itself indefinitely. With conflict inextricably linked to the ongoing process of social change, it is therefore inevitable that in today's changing world, conflict management skills become as requisite as any of those more formally related to social impact assessment.

This aside, it should be stressed in closing that, in order to protect society from itself, *there remains still a theoretical obligation to focus on the more long term question of predicting the*

possibility of future negative impact. That this case-study has shown perceptual analysis to be a tool inappropriate to such a task, *does not* necessarily imply that this should be taken as a universal truth. To the contrary. This study concentrated specifically on the social impacts associated to changes in urban demography within the limited instance of a relatively small area in Cape Town. Spatial changes, it should be said, can *also* occur within the built environment. Naturally, such changes would demand alternative assessment methodologies, and certainly, these exist.

One example is a relatively new computer-based model that, through the data-input of suburban property-market values and their spatial coordinates, can predict and map out various aspects of a metropolitan space economy. Geographical Information Systems such as this are currently being used by World Bank researchers investigating the impact of possible socio-economic reforms on certain South African post-apartheid cities. Such modelling techniques hint at the increasing ability of technology to capture and manipulate well defined anthropometric and demographic variables. Clearly though, while *certain dimensions of urban impact and change can be predicted with a high degree of probability*, it should be accepted that the majority of these predictive models and methodologies are almost exclusively designed to compute the portions of reality we know to be objective and quantifiable. Because of its qualitative nature, the personal, subjective inner-world has, apart from methodologies reliant on perceptions, been left largely untouched.

In this regard, additional research carried out in the study area might supplement the findings and conclusions reched here. For example, in two to three years time it might be worthwhile comparing the information and data derived from this report with another yet to be conducted in the Forest Hills area. Effectively, this would require the sampling of locally *experienced cognitions of impact*, in order to see whether any correspondence exists between these and the unmediated perceptions of impact as already outlined in this report. Such future analysis would in essence become the second phase of an ongoing prospective study of reaction to impact over time.

Notwithstanding this additional research proposal, the evidence presented in this report is compelling enough to suggest that all is not well in the state of Social Impact Assessment. In a study of this nature, perceptions have failed to compare with actual cognitions impact. This being the case, how more likely is it that in the instance of a more complex forms of urban development, predictions constructed around Perceptual Analysis, would distort the findings sufficiently to render the ultimate social assessment invalid. With this in mind, while further research endeavours are required to either prove or disprove the analytical anomaly presented here, it is hoped nonetheless that the conclusions reached in this study might instil an attitude of caution in all those working within SIA. To this end SIA and the society which it aims to serve would only benefit.

****

REFERENCES

BABBIE, E.R. (1973). *Survey Research Methods.* Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishers.

BADCOCK, B. (1984). *Unfairly Structured Cities.* Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

BEANLANDS, G. (1988). Scoping Methods and Baseline Studies in EIA. In P. WATHERN (ed.) *Environmental Impact Assessment: Theory and Practice.* London: Unwin Hyman.

BERGER, P.L. & LUCKMANN, T. (1967). *The Social Construction Of Reality - A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge.* New York: Anchor Books.

BISSET, R. (1988). Developments in EIA Methods. In P. WATHERN, *Environmental Impact Assessment: Theory and Practice.* London: Unwin Hyman.

BURDGE, R,J. (1991). A Community Guide to Social Impact Assessment - a workshop paper presented at the University of Cape Town.

CASTELLS, M. (1977). *The Urban Question.* London: Edward Arnold.

CHAMBERS, R. (1983). *Rural Development - Putting the Last First.* London: Longman.

CLARK, B.D. *et al* (1978). *Environmental Impact Assessment in the USA: A Critical Review.* DOE Research Report, No 30, London, UK.

CLOKE, P., PHILO, C. & SADLER, D. (1991). *Approaching Human Geography - An introduction to Contemporary Theoretical Debates.* London: PCP.

COOKE, P. (1990). Modern Urban Theory In Question. *Trans Inst. Br. Geogr., 4*:331-343.

COX, K.R. & DEAR, M.J. (1975). *Jurisdictional Organization and Urban Welfare.* Discussion Paper Number 47. Columbus: Department of Geography, Ohio State University.

CULHANE, J., FRIESEMA, H. & BEECHER, J.A. (1986). *Forecasts and Environmental Decision-making: The Content and Predictive Accuracy of Environmental Impact Statements.* Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press.

DANIEL, W. (1978). *Applied Non-Parametric Statistics.* London: Houghton-Mifflin.

DAVIES, R. (1976). *Of Cities And Societies: A Geographer's Point of View - Inaugural Lecture.* New Series No. 38. Cape Town: University of Cape Town.

DEAR, M.J. (1986). Postmodernism and Planning. In *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space, 4*:367-384.

DE JONGH, P. (1988). Uncertainty in EIA. In P. WATHERN (ed.) *Environmental Impact Assessment: Theory and Practice.* London: Unwin Hyman.

DUNCAN, J. (1985). Individual action and political power: A structuration perspective. In R.J. JOHNSTON (ed.) *The Future of Geography*. London: Methuen.

DUNCAN, J. & LEY, D. (1985). Structural Marxism and human geography: a critical perspective. *AAAG, 72*:30-59

ENLOE, C. (1973). *Ethnic Conflict and Political Development*. Boston: Little, Brown & Company.

EVERITE, B.S. (1977). *The Analysis of Contingency Tables*. New York: Chapman and Hall.

FAST, I. (1985). *A Piaget - Freud integration*. Hillsdale New Jersey, Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers.

FORMBY, J. (1991). The Politics of Environmental Impact Assessment. *Impact Assessment Bulletin 8(1&2)*: 191-196

FOWLER, H.W. & FOWLER, F.G. (eds.) (1959). *Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English*. London: Clarendon Press.

FREUDENBURG, W.R. and KEATING, K.M. (1982). Increasing the impact of sociology on Social Impact Assessment: Towards ending the inattention. *The American Sociologist, 17*: 71-80.

FRIEDMAN, S. (1993). *The Elusive "Community" - The Dynamics of Negotiated Urban Development*, Centre For Policy Studies Social Contract Series (Research Report No 28), Johannesburg.

Increasing the impact of sociology on Social Impact Assessment: Towards ending the inattention. *The American Sociologist, 17*: 71-80.

FUGGLE, R.F. & SHOPLEY, J.B. (1984). A Comprehensive Review of Current Environmental Impact Assessment Methods and Techniques. *Journal of Environmental Management, 18*: 25-47.

FUGGLE, R.F. (1990). Integrated Environmental Management: A Framework for Minimising and Mitigating Environmental Consequences of Development Actions in the Countries of South Africa. Unpublished conference paper delivered at the South African Regional Commission for the Conservation and Utilisation of the Soil. Twenty - Second Ordinary Meeting, Malawi, May 1990.

FUGGLE, R.F. et al. (1992). Integrated Environmental Management: Recommended Procedure and Guidelines. Researched for South Africa's Department of Environmental Affairs by the Environmental Evaluation Unit of the University of Cape Town. (Report 7/91/70).

GAPS (1990). The Rondebosch - Mowbray Local Area Plan. Prepared for the City of Cape Town by Gallagher, Aspoas, Poplak and Senior - Architects, Urban Designers and Town Planners.

GIBSON, J.J. (1979). *The ecological approach to visual perception.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

GIDDENS, A. (1989). *Sociology.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

GIDDENS, A. (1992). Uprooted signposts at century's end. In *Times Higher Education Supplement* January 17.

GOSLING, R. (1980). *Personal Copy.* London: Faber.

GREENBERG, S.B. (1980). *Race and State in Capitalist Development* Johannesburg: Ravan Press.

GREGORY, D. (1984). Space, Time and Politics in Social Theory: An Interview with Anthony Giddens. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space, 2*: 123-132

GREGORY, D. (1990). The crisis of modernity? Human geography and critical social theory. In R. PEET & N. THRIFT (eds.) *New Models In Geography* Vol.2. London: Unwin Hyman.

HABERMAS, J. (1979). *Communication and the Evolution of Society* London: Heinemann.

HARALAMBOS, M. (1985). *Sociology - Themes and Perspectives.* London: Bell and Hyman.

HARVEY, D. (1969). *Explanation in Geography.* London: Edward Arnold.

HARVEY, D. (1973). *Social Justice in the City.* London: Edward Arnold.

HARVEY, D. (1975). Class Structure in a capitalist society and the theory of residential differentiation. In *Progress in Physical and Human Geography, 3*:354-368

HARVEY, D. (1984). On the History and Present Condition of Geography: An Historical Materialist Manifesto. *The Professional Geographer, 36*:1-11

HARVEY, D. (1985). *The Urbanization of Capital* London: Basil Blackwell.

HARVEY, D. (1985a). The Geopolitics of Capitalism. In Gregory, D and Urry, J (eds.) *Social Relations and Spatial Structures,* London: MacMillan.

HARVEY, D. (1989). *The Urban Experience* Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

HARRINTON-HALL, M. (1972). Carl Rogers on groups and the lack of a Human Science. In *Readings In Psychology Today.* Del Mar, California: CRM Books.

HESS, J.P. (1982). Metropolitan Fragmentation and Conflict in the Location of Commercial Facilities. In K. COX, & R.J. JOHNSTON (eds.) *Conflict, Politics and the Urban Scene.* London: Longman.

HITE, S. (1989). *Women And Love: A Cultural Revolution in Progress.* London: Penguin.

HYMAN, E.L. & STIFTEL, B (1988). *Combining Facts and Values in Environmental Impact Assessment: Theories and Techniques*. Boulder Colorado: Westview Press.

KELLNER, D. (1989). *Critical Theory, Marxism and Modernity*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

KHAN, F. (1991). Beyond the Group Areas Act. In *South African Discourse, 3*: 10 -17

KNILL, W.G. (1992). The Green Paradigm. Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, University of Cape Town.

KNOX, P.L. (1987). *Urban Social Geography - An Introduction*. Second Edition. New York: Longman.

LARSON, H. (1982). *Introduction to Probability Theory and Statistical Inference*. Singapore: John Wiley and Sons.

LEY, D. (1986). Modernism, post-modernism and the struggle for place. Paper presented to the seminar series on The Power Of Place. New York: Syracuse University.

LEY, D. & SAMUELS, M. (1978). *Humanistic Geography: Prospects and Problems*. London: Croom Helm.

LOWENTHAL, D. (1982). Revisiting Valued Landscapes. In J.R. GOLD & J. BURGESS (eds.) *Valued Landscapes*. London: George Allen and Unwin.

MASSEY, D. (1984). *Spatial Divisions of Labour*. London: MacMillan.

MABOGUNJE, A.L. (1980). *The Development Process - A spatial Perspective*. London: Hutchinson.

McCARTHY, J.J. and SMIT, D.P. (1984). *The South African City: Theory in Analysis and Planning*. Cape Town: Juta

MISHAN, E.J. (1969). *The Costs of Economic Growth*. London: Penguin.

MUNN, R.E. (1979). *Environmental Impact Assessment: Principles and Procedures - Scope 5* (Second Edition). Chichester: John Wiley and Sons.

NAIPAUL, V.S. (1989). *A Turn in the South*. London: Penguin.

NORBERG-SCHULTZ, C. (1971). *Existence, Space and Architecture*. London: Studio Vista.

NORRIS, G. (1979). Defining Urban Deprivation. In C. JONES (ed.) *Urban Deprivation and the Inner City*. London: Croom Helm.

OPPENHEIM, A.N. (1966). *Questionaire Design and Attitude Measurement*. London: Heinemann.

PAHL, R.E. (1975). *Whose city? And further essays on urban society*. London: Penguin.

PAHL, R.E. (1977). Managers, technical experts and the state: forms of mediation, manipulation and dominance in urban and regional development. In M. HARLOE *Captive Cities: Studies in the Political Economy of Cities and Regions*. London: Wiley.

PAHL, R.E. (1979). Socio-political factors in resource allocations. In D. HERBERT & D. SMITH (eds.) *Social problems and the city: geographical perspectives*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

PRIILAID, D. (1989). Cognitions, Perceptions and Conflict: A Case Study of the Norwich Union Sports Ground. Unpublished Honours Thesis, University Of Cape Town.

QUINTON, A. (1988). Ontology. In A. BULLOCK, O. STALLYBRASS & S. TROMBLEY (eds.) *The Fontana Dictionary of Modern Thought* (2nd Edition). London: Fontana.

QUINLAN, T. & ZINGEL, J. (1991). Social Impact Assessment projects within EIA studies in rural African settings: A re-assessment and development of an alternative approach. Unpublished paper presented by the Institute for Social and Economic Research, University of Durban - Westville.

RAMSAY, S (1990). Human Nature: Its implications for conservation. *Mantis, 3(1)*: 6-11

REISSMAN, L. (1966). *The Urban Process*. New York: Free Press.

ROBERTS, J.M. (1986). *The Triumph of the West*. London: British Broadcasting Corporation.

ROBINSON, J. (1992). Power, space and the city: historical reflections on apartheid and post apartheid orders. In *The Apartheid City and Beyond*. Smith, D.M. (ed.) London: Witwatersrand University Press.

ROWLES, G.D. (1978). Reflections in Experiential Field Work. In D. LEY & M. SAMUELS (eds.) *Humanistic Geography: Prospects and Problems*. London: Croom Helm.

SAUNDERS, P (1980). *Urban Politics*. London: Hutchinson.

SAUNDERS, P. (1989). Space, Urbanism and the Created Environment. In D. HELD & J. THOMPSON, J. (eds.) *Social Theory of Modern Societies - Giddens and his Critics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

SAYER, A. (1979). Epistemology and Concepts of People and Nature in Geography. *Geoforum, 10*: 19-43

SCHWEIZER, C.D. (ed.) (1985). *Council for the Environment: A Working Document for the Development of a National Policy on Environmental Impact Analysis in S.A.*. Cape Town, pp 73-113.

SHEPHERD, L. J. (1993). *Lifting the Veil: The Feminine Face of Science*. Shambala: Boston.

SHIELDS, M. A. (1975). Social impact studies: An expositionary analysis. *Environment and Behaviour, 7*: 265-284

SIEGAL, S. (1956). *Nonparametric Statistics for the Behavioural Sciences.* Kogasushka: Mc Graw-Hill.

SOJA, E.W. (1989). *Postmodern Geographies: The Reasertion of Space in Critical Social Theory.* London: Verso.

SMITH, N. (1987). Of Yuppies and Housing; Gentrification, Social Reconstruction, and the Urban Dream. *Society and Space, 5(2)*: 151-72

SMITH, S.J. (1984). Practicing Human Geography. *AAAG, 74*: 353-374

STODDART, D.R. (1986) *On Geography and its History.* Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

SUSSKIND, L., McMAHON, G. & ROLLEY, S. (1987) Mediating Development Disputes: Some Barriers and Bridges to Successful Negotiation. *Environmental Impact Assessment Review, 7* 127-138.

TAYLOR, C., BRYAN, C. & GOODRICH, C. (1989). *Social Assessment: Theory, Process and Techniques.* Studies in Resource Management No.7. New Zealand: Lincoln University.

TROWER, W.P. (1992). Muddling to Discovery: Science seeks not truth but predictability. In *Newsweek*, 24 August, 1992.

The Argus (1991). Enough housing now, says UCT. 2 May.

The Argus (1991). Editorial Comment in the Southern Argus. 13 June

The Argus (1991). Flat Rentals Growing at a Blistering Pace. 21 September.

The Cape Times (1991). Letter from Mr De Havilland, 22 May.

The Cape Times (1991). Letter from Mr Erleigh, 22 May.

The Cape Times (1991). Letter From Professor John Reid, 27 May.

The Star (1991). "Why won't the ANC play?" by Ron Kraybill, 21 May.

THOMPSON, J.G. & WILLIAMS, R.G. (1986). The Multiple Role of the Social Impact Assessor: Scientist, Issues Analyst, Facilitator, Arbitrator and Conflict Manager. In H.A. BECKER & A.L. PORTER (eds.) *Impact Assessment Today. Vol. 1.* Utrecht: Uitgeverij Jan van Arkel.

TOMLINSON, P. (1984). Screening and Scoping Method. Unpublished paper presented at the International Seminar on Environmental Impact Assessment, July 1984, University of Aberdeen, Scotland.

TUAN, Y.F. (1974). *Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perception, Attitudes and Values.* Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.

UCT News Magazine 18(1): 22-23 (May 1991). UCT buys flats complex to house students.

UZZEL, D. (1982). Environmental Pluralism and Participation: A Coorientational Perspective. In J.R. GOLD, & J. BURGESS, (eds.). *Valued Landscapes.* London: George Allen and Unwin.

WALKER R.A. (1981). A Theory of Suburbanization. In *Urbanization and Planning in Capitalist Society*, Dear, M and Scott, A. (eds.) New York

WELLINGS P. (1986). Geography and Development in Southern Africa. *Geoforum, 17*: 119-131

WHITE P. (1992). *Patrick White Speaks: The collected essays, articles and speeches of the Nobel Prize winning novelist.* London: Penguin Books.

VAN DEVENTER, V. (1992). Environmental perception and cognition. in *Environmental Psychology*, Viljoen, H, van Staden, F, Grieve, K and Van Deventer, V. (eds). Johannesburg, Lexicon Publishers

YAP N.T. (1990). Round the Peg or Square the Hole? Populists, Technocrats and Environmental Assessment in Third World Countries. *Impact Assessment Bulletin, 8(1&2)*: 69-81

ZELINSKY, W. (1975). The Demigods Dilemma. *AAAG, 65(2)*:123-143

PERSONAL COMMUNICATIONS

EBRAHIM, M. Residences Officer. Administrative Offices, University of Cape Town.

ELIOT, J. Director of Planning at UCT. Administrative Offices, University Of Cape Town.

IVERSEN, I. Cape Town City Councillor, Ward 10, Mowbray, Cape Town.

SMUTS, D. Member of Parliament, Democratic Party,.

VAN DEN HEEVER, A. Cape Town City Councillor, Ward 10. and Senior University of Cape Town administrator.

APPENDIX I

QUESTIONS PUT TO RESIDENTS IN THE AREAS OF LIESBEEK GARDENS AND FOREST HILLS

QUESTIONS FOR RESIDENTS ADJACENT TO LIESBEEK GARDENS

1. How long have you lived here?

2. How old are you?

3. Do you own or rent the property where you live?

4. Overall, how do you feel about UCT's purchase of Liesbeek Gardens?

   (a) very happy

   (b) happy

   (c) neutral

   (d) unhappy

   (e) very unhappy

5. Speaking for yourself, what positive aspects do you believe have emerged from UCT's purchase of Liesbeek Gardens?

   (a) A varied, vibrant community

   (b) Helpful, friendly people

   (c) Other, 1

   (d) Other, 2

   (e) Other, 3

6. Of the above, what is the *most* positive aspect?

7. Speaking for yourself again, what negative aspects do you believe have emerged from UCT's purchase of Liesbeek Gardens?

   (a) Noise If yes, when?

   (b) Parking problems If yes, when?

   (c) Crime

   (d) Public intrusion into your property
   If yes, when?

   (e) Reduction in property value

   (f) Cultural/Racial misunderstandings

   (g) Other, 1

   (h) Other, 2

   (i) Other, 3

8. Of the above, what is the *most* negative aspect?

QUESTIONS FOR RESIDENTS ADJACENT TO FOREST HILLS

1. How long have you lived here?

2. How old are you?

3. Do you own or rent the property where you live?

4. Overall, how do you feel about UCT's purchase of Forest Hills?

    (a) very happy

    (b) happy

    (c) neutral

    (d) unhappy

    (e) very unhappy

5. Speaking for yourself, what positive aspects do you believe will emerge from UCT's purchase of Forest Hills?

    (a) A varied, vibrant community

    (b) Helpful, friendly people

    (c) Other, 1

    (d) Other, 2

    (e) Other, 3

6. Of the above, what will be the *most* positive aspect?

7. Speaking for yourself again, what negative aspects do you believe will emerge from UCT's purchase of Forest Hills?

(a) Noise If yes, when?

(b) Parking problems If yes, when?

(c) Crime

(d) Public intrusion into your property
If yes, when?

(e) Reduction in property value

(f) Cultural/Racial misunderstandings

(g) Other, 1

(h) Other, 2

(i) Other, 3

8. Of the above, what will be the *most* negative aspect?

APPENDIX II

QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONSES FROM RESIDENTS IN THE FOREST HILLS AREA

No. 9 Osbourne Road

1. 20 years
2. 50 years - 60 years
3. Owns
4. V. unhappy
5. None
6. N/A
7. Noise - at nights

   Race - they make too much noise
8. Noise

This lady claimed that lots of people want to sell because of Forest Hills. No's 5 & 7 Osbourne Road have sold thus far. Unclear if this is students - or the hotel - or both.

No. 11 Osbourne Road

1. 8 years
2. 60 years - 70 years
3. Owns
4. V. unhappy
5. None
6. N/A
7. Noise - night - linked to race

   Upkeep of flats will deteriorate

   Commerce of area depressed : hairdressers, general stores closing down.
8. Noise

Old couple cannot stand UCT. "Close UCT down" he said. They're thinking of selling. Mowbray is changing. Atmosphere gone.

No. 5 Selford Road.

1. 5 years
2. 30 - 50 years
3. Owns
4. Neutral
5. Nice having people around
6. Nice having people around
7. Noise

   Affects on house selling : can't sell easily

   Safety for kids playing in the street.
8. Safety for kids

Students in the area will mean a decline in standards. No-one knows what UCT is doing. They should know. UCT should speak up. UCT is destroying the Rosebank area systematically. They should not be allowed to buy houses in the area (corridor of development).

No. 6 Osbourne Road

1. 2.5 years
2. 30 - 50 years
3. Owns
4. Neutral: No objections at present : as long as people behave in a civilised manner.
5. None
6. None
7. Loud music : Parties

   Drinking Parties : Talking
8. Shouting and parties at night : Noise

The whole road appears worried about the impending circus. These students must just be civilised.

No. 4 Osbourne Road

1. 2 years
2. Mid twenties
3. Owns
4. Neutral - said situation couldn't really deteriorate much more. The student types hanging out at the Tumbles var on the corner act like "absolute animals".
5. None
6. N/A
7. Upkeep of flats will deteriorate

   Noise is high already

   Depending on the class of student - Black students could act even worse than white students. They are noisy and have other different cultural habits

   Crime during the day : the tastes of students will differ from the evicted old ladies - and so they might go for hi-fi equipment etc. (The flats look directly onto the back gardens of this set of houses : thus flat dwellers can see when the houses are unoccupied).
8. Upkeep of flats

No. 2 Osbourne Road.

1. < 1 year
2. 31 - 50 years
3. Owns
4. Neutral
5. With students around, security in the area would improve, especially at night.
6. Security will improve.
7. The older people will be turfed out of Forest Hills. Does not think that 3 Liesbeek Gardens incidents will matter : noise might be a problem, though, she said.
8. People evicted

Rev Arthur Volker - Baptist Church

1. 28 months
2. 31 - 50 years
3. Rents
4. Unhappy
5. Business might gear up and profit by catering for students' needs

   The cultural and ethnic diversity of the area, through UCT's black students, is a good thing and will improve with the Forest Hills purchase
6. Business upswing
7. Noise from the local Pub

   Students and their rowdy atmosphere

   The church has lost many parishioners who have been evicted from Forest Hills. Some, now living in Goodwood, still attend, but it is uncertain how long this shall remain the case
8. Noise

There are approximately 100 signed-up members of the church. The church has purchased adjacent Fairview for the elderly "folk". There is space for 7 or 8 of these people, some of which will come from Forest Hills

---

No. 10 Osbourne Road

1. 3 years
2. 31 - 50 years
3. Owns
4. Neutral
5. UCT will be able to house its students
6. As above
7. As with any residence : noise will increase
8. Noise

This man works at UCT.

No. 13 Osbourne Road

1. 20 years
2. 50's
3. Owns
4. V. unhappy
5. Noise
6. N/A
7. Noise stemming from students

   Blacks cannot speak quietly (cultural)

   The place is not clean (Forest Hills)

   There are dirtbins in lifts
8. Noise

Claims that the owner of next door No. 15 sold up because of students. This was 2 months ago. Claims that the pub is also a big factor.

No 1 Selford Road

1. 2 years
2. 21 - 30 years
3. Rents
4. Neutral
5. More students therefore safer
6. As above
7. Noise will increase
8. As above

This is a student digs

No. 3 Osbourne Road

1. 4 years
2. 31 - 50 years
3. Owns
4. Neutral
5. None
6. N/A
7. Possibly noise
8. As above

Prof Dolezalek is a law prof at UCT and was very helpful in helping me understand the demographics of the area. Three lecturers live in Osbourne Road.

---

10 Avenue Road : Father Clive McBride

1. 12 years
2. 31 - 50 years
3. Owns
4. Neutral
5. Area will become less of a tomb

   Presently no-one seems to know each other - this might change

   Fruitful inter-relationships might occur
6. A cosmopolitan community
7. Overall upkeep will deteriorate to a student slum

   Hardship to present residents moving out - very traumatic

   Fears periods of boisterous noise - in evenings. Parties
8. Upkeep of flats will deteriorate

No. 12 Avenue, "CADBOL"

1. 53 years - The family has lived here for 70 years
2. 50's
3. Owns
4. V. unhappy
5. None
6. None
7. Eviction of people from Forest Hills due to high rentals
   Refuse in the lifts and foyers
   Sentiment is not anti-student but anti UCT authorities
   Depreciation of property value because area no longer quiet
8. Noise
9. Private conversation

No. 12 Selford Road

1. Less than a year
2. Less than 20 years (student)
3. Rents - this house has always been a digs
4. Neutral
5. None
6. None
7. Maybe a noise increase
8. Noise

No. 4 Selford Road

1. 3 years (A UCT Professor in Economics)
2. 40's
3. Owns
4. Unhappy
5. The reasons for the Forest Hills purchase were sound (solved housing crisis) but the deal was handled badly by UCT - "financially incompetent". The flats will probably be ruined. Given that 30% of Forest Hills was once students - which was good - the situation now will not get any better.
6. Solved housing crisis
7. Noting the Liesbeek Gardens case

   washing on balconies

   broken bottles

   Drunks roaming

   Will lower the tone of the area
8. Change in the quality of life - was once quiet - now not
8. The tone of the area will be lowered

No. 3 Selford Road

1. 5 years
2. 40's
3. Owns
4. Neutral
5. None
6. None
7. Noise might increase
8. Noise

No. 8 Avenue Road.

1. Less than a year
2. Less than 20 years - Father bought house on spec.
3. Rents (a digs)
4. Neutral
5. Will provide housing for students
6. Will provide housing for students
7. Throwing residents out of their flats
8. Throwing residents out of their flats

No. 11 Glencaird Road

1. 23 years
2. More than 70 years
3. Owns
4. Unhappy
5. UCT will come down hard on serious crime like rape or murder

   There will be no taxis - they will be below the Main Road
6. UCT's attitude towards serious crime
7. If there are too many students, the area will become unruly

   The purchase of Forest Hills was made in a most unsympathetic way - harsh on those forced to move out

   UCT took too many flats - therefore too many people were evicted and those vacant flats were not filled up. The result is that UCT appears to be inefficient in lieu of the strike last year, UCT must not appear to be inefficient

   Feels that UCT is more concerned with issues of affirmative action rather than merit. This does not go down well with the liberal attitudes of most of the local residents
8. The area could become overly unruly

No. 5 Roughmore Road.

1. 19 years
2. 61 - 70
3. Owns
4. Neutral
5. None
6. None
7. More noise
   Black taxis
   Crime rate will increase
8. More noise

No. 9 Glencaird Road

1. 35 years
2. 61 - 70 years
3. Owns
4. Unhappy
5. None
6. None
7. Noise on Friday and Saturday nights
   More blacks than there were 10 years ago
   No Privacy
8. Noise

No. 6 Roughmore Road

1. 13 years
2. 51 - 60 years
3. Owns
4. V. unhappy
5. If the flats were properly mixed in terms of race it would be good - learn tolerance.
6. If the flats were properly mixed in terms of race it would be good - learn tolerance.
7. Forest Hills might become the focus of political action

   The perception of UCT is very negative, particularly after the last strike. This perception has adhered itself to Forest Hills as a result.

   Fears of squatting and noise

   UCT's ongoing purchasing of surrounding areas is turning places like Rondebosch into a "behemoth". UCT is "taking over the whole damn place". They are "empire building".

   Price depreciation
8. There must be no repeat of Liesbeek Gardens No squatting, noise etc. Tone of area goes down.

No. 7 Welgelegen Road

1. 7 years
2. 61 years - 70 years
3. Owns
4. Unhappy
5. Nothing
6. Nothing
7. Evicted Forest Hills tenants were badly treated

   Noise (nights)

   Crime
8. Noise

No. 5 Welgelegen Road.

1. 4 years
2. 31 years - 50 years
3. Owns
4. Unhappy
5. None
6. None
7. UCT is so big - it will change the character of the area because its interests are incompatible with those of the residents.
8. Noise

No. 2 Welgelegen Road

1. 11 years
2. 61 years - 70 years
3. Owns
4. Unhappy
5. UCT solved its accommodations problems
6. UCT solved its accommodation problems
7. The Bohemian lifestyle of students will lower the moral tone of the area

   Noise

   Change in local lifestyles for the worse
8. Noise

No. 6 Rhodes Avenue

1. 0 - 1 years
2. 31 years - 50 years
3. Owns
4. Neutral
5. Students have accommodation
   Local retail trade related to students should improve
6. Student accommodation problem solved
7. Increase in traffic
   Neighbourhood will become noisy as a result (night and day)
   Old people were forced out of their flats
   For people close to Forest Hills, student and traffic noise will increase
8. Increase in traffic, therefore congestion

No. 1 Roughmore Road

1. 3 years
2. 31 years - 50 years
3. Owns
4. Neutral
5. Students must live somewhere and UCT has solved their problem
6. As above
7. Too many noise pedestrian passers by
8. Pedestrian traffic

No. 11 Welgelegen Road

1. 0 - 1 years
2. 31 years - 50 years
3. Owns
4. Unhappy
5. Area could become more lively but that depends on the students
6. As above
7. Lost her friends in Forest Hills
   Noise all the time
8. Noise

No. 12 Welgelegen Road

1. 2 years
2. 31 years - 50 years
3. Owns
4. Unhappy
5. None
6. None
7. Noise over weekends, day and night
   Property standard of Forest Hills on the decline
   Traffic
8. Noise

No. 6 Avenue Road

1. 22 years
2. 71+ years
3. Owns
4. Unhappy
5. None
6. None
7. Pedestrian traffic
   Shouting
   Blacks and Coloureds in area (racism)
8. Noise pedestrians

APPENDIX III

QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONSES FROM RESIDENTS IN THE LIESBEEK GARDENS AREA

No. 14 Spin Road

1. 14 years
2. 31 - 50 years
3. Owns
4. Neutral. "From this distance they're fairly well behaved" - speaking of students.
5. None
6. None
7. Noise occasionally from the pool
   UCT's intrusion into the area
8. Noise

No. 2 Bridge Street

1. 2 years
2. 21 - 30 years
3. Owns
4. Neutral.
5. None
6. None
7. Noise on Bridge Road from student pedestrians on Saturday nights
8. Noise

No. 20 Ayres Road.

1. 2 years
2. 21 - 30 years
3. Rents
4. Neutral
5. None
6. None
7. Noise. Liesbeek Gardens' pool behind their house is very noisy especially on Sunday afternoons. No noise other than from the pool.

   Litter - beer cans, bottles and liquor bottles are thrown over the pool wall into their property
8. Noise

No. 22 Ayres Road

1. 2 years
2. 21 - 30 years
3. Rents.
4. Neutral
5. None
6. None
7. Noise from the pool, mostly Sunday afternoons, children shouting etc. but it doesn't bother her.
8. Noise

No. 24 Ayres Road

1. 4 years
2. 21 - 30 years
3. Rent
4. Unhappy
5. None
6. None
7. Noise from the pool, shouting. Sometimes at night, mostly weekend afternoon, kids.
8. Noise

No. 33 Ayres Road.

1. 9 years
2. 31 - 50 years
3. Owns
4. Unhappy
5. Integration - Having blacks in the area is a normalising process "we're really getting places".
6. Integration
7. Noise. Pedestrian noise from students on Rye Rd going to Steers Take-away on Mowbray Main Road for takeaways. They talk very loudly and this is especially intrusive after 11 at night when the area is quiet and sound carries.
8. Noise

No. 12 Ayres Road

1. 7 years
2. 31 - 50 years
3. Owns
4. Neutral
5. Fantastic that blacks can live close to UCT
6. As above
7. Noise - students use the pool later at night, voices

   Bridge Street (the road to Mowbray Main Road) late at night, when it's quiet. They walk up the road "talking at the top of their voices". This is very intrusive and invasive
8. Noise

No. 16 Ayres Road

1. 0 - 1 years
2. 21 - 30 years
3. Rents
4. Neutral
5. As a student have use of pool

   Nice to see Blacks in the neighbourhood. "They could lively up the neighbourhood".
6. Use of pool
7. Noise during the day. The students make a noise at the pool.
8. Noise

No. 14 River Street

1. 0 - 1 years
2. 31 - 50 years
3. Owns
4. Neutral
5. None
6. None
7. Noise - pool noise. "Very occasionally over the weekend in the late afternoon, I can hear what sounds like a football game".

   Racism. Why are there only blacks in Liesbeek Gardens? "This is not integration under any circumstance. If it [the flats] was mixed, some locals wouldn't see this as a threat". Residents, she said, sometimes make "scathing remarks of ox braais on the roof". "Locals view the students as foreigners. They are not used to blacks".
8. Lack of integration

No. 8 Selby Road

1. 0 - 1 years
2. 21 - 30 years
3. Rents
4. Unhappy
5. None
6. None
7. Noise - Friday afternoon till Sunday, until 3 am in the morning. Music and voices (Xhosa). People party on their balconies.

   Lack of integration. She cannot mingle at the pool and feels like an outsider.

   Cultural problem - the expression of black people is more loud, more open.
8. Noise

No 33 Hornsey Road

1. 0 - 1 years
2. 21 - 30 years
3. Rents
4. Neutral
5. None
6. None
7. Noise - pedestrian noise - at night from 10 till 3 am. "Drunken debauchery"
8. Noise

No 11 Sydney Road

1. 9 years
2. 31 - 50 years
3. Owns
4. Very unhappy
5. None
6. None
7. Noise - weekend parties, drunken screaming, up to 4am, cops can't do anything, yet paralysed by so many complaints.

   Squatting and subletting; has complained to the warders; has phoned Stuart Saunders at 4am in the morning.

   Fining the students doesn't help - they have entrance fees at parties. The warden can't do a thing. Overall feeling of helpless.

   The way UCT took over, its wasn't fair and there was no information "The block is illegally theirs as far as I'm concerned. Property values have dropped. There are no communication channels or support for the warden.

   "For 7 years I was unaware of the flats then UCT took over".
8. Noise

No. 9 Sydney Road

1. 5 years
2. 31 - 50 years
3. Owns
4. Unhappy
5. The racial composition of the neighbourhood has changed - and this is good for the kids.

   As a member of UCT's staff - she can use the Liesbeek Gardens swimming pool.

   She feels safe because there are people here - she is familiar with the students and does not feel threatened.
6. The racial composition. Integration.
7. Noise - night-time 11 till 3 or 4 in the morning, especially over the weekend. (Decreases in winter). Before UCT bought Liesbeek Gardens noise was negligible. Not just music - it is screaming and shouting. "You can hear everything". The noise is projected directly onto the houses where she lives, on visiting the flats, the noise wasn't so bad which gave her this "projection" idea.

   Traffic - taxis and cars off Durban Road park at the flat entrances and there is much revving and shouting.

   Price of properties might have dropped.
8. Noise

No. 5 Sydney Road

1. 0 - 1 years
2. 21 - 30 years
3. Owns
4. Unhappy
5. None
6. None
7. Noise. General music and voices. Night-time and weekends. Sometimes can't sleep.
8. Noise

No. 7 Sydney Road

1. 39 years
2. 71+ years
3. Owns
4. Unhappy
5. None
6. None
7. Weekend noise. Music till early hours and voices shouting. "They walk up and down the road all day long".

   Safety. She doesn't feel safe anymore. "This shouldn't happen in a residential area".
8. Noise

No. 1 Sydney Road

1. 1 year
2. 31 - 50 years
3. Owns
4. Happy
5. Pleasant people - always greet and comment about the weather, her garden, dog etc. There is no hassle. They are just living there like anyone else.
6. Pleasant people
7. Noise - very occasionally but if she does hear it, it doesn't bother her.
8. Noise

No. 6 Selby Road.

1. 0 - 1 years
2. 21 - 30 years
3. Owns
4. Unhappy
5. Security - having people around is a nice feeling.

   UCT property - the fact that it is UCT property means that you can phone Campus Control in the event of noise.
6. Security
7. Noise - parties in the evenings, especially over weekends. The hum of normal "living noise" is louder than it should be. Conversations are too loud. Phoned Campus Control at 5am once to complain about the noise. "If they didn't make a noise, it wouldn't matter who lived there!". She keeps a low profile, not complaining openly for fear of retaliation.
8. Noise.

No. 4 Sydney Court, Sydney Road

1. 0 - 1 years
2. 21 - 30 years
3. Rents
4. Unhappy
5. None
6. None
7. Noise over weekends mostly. Fighting, shouting and loud noise day and night.

   Bottle throwing. "One Saturday afternoon they all threw bottles at each other. I don't know why".
8. Noise

No. 3 Sydney Court, Sydney Road.

1. 3 years
2. 21 - 30 years
3. Rents
4. Neutral
5. Security - feels that she can walk over the Mowbray bridge at night and not feel scared. "The students look studious, like they're coming from the library and not the pub".
6. Security
7. Noise - parties over weekends, but its not that bad.
8. Noise

No. 3 Derodore, Rye Road

1. 0 - 1 years
2. 21 - 30 years
3. Rents
4. Neutral
5. None
6. None
7. Noise but on Friday nights and not particularly bothersome
8. Noise

No. 19 Hornsey Road

1. 7 years
2. 61 - 70 years
3. Owns
4. Unhappy
5. None
6. None
7. Noise - "screeching and talking on top of their voices". "They want the next town to know they have hi-fi sets". Any time at night, till 2am.

   Pedestrians singing in the road.

   Filth - rumours of students urinating against doors and over balconies.
8. Noise

No. 29 Hornsey Road

1. 4 years
2. 31 years - 50 years
3. Rents
4. Unhappy
5. Accommodation problems of UCT solved.
6. As above
7. Noise - voices at night between 12 and 2, mostly over weekends.
8. Noise

No. 4 Ardath Court, Hornsey Road.

1. 0 - 1 years
2. 31 - 50 years
3. Neutral
4. Rents
5. As a student has use of Liesbeek Gardens' swimming pool
6. As above
7. Pedestrian flow of students - although not particularly bothersome. Pedestrian Noise.
8. As above

No. 8 Rosecourt, Selby Road

1. 3 years
2. 21 years - 30 years
3. Owns
4. Very unhappy
5. None
6. None
7. Noise - incredibly loud noise till 4am and early on Sunday morning. Mostly over weekends.

   Crime - Cars stolen twice and knows it was Liesbeek Gardens visitors because friends in the flats told her. (They come from Langa and Nyanga).

   Complaints - the police don't know what to do. The warden is unobtainable and UCT exerts no control.
8. Noise

No. 6 Rhodes Avenue

1. 15 years
2. 31 years - 50 years
3. Owns
4. Neutral
5. Not as much traffic in the area since students don't own cars.
   Blacks in the area - pro integration.
6. Not as much traffic in the area
7. Noise - shouting and drunken singing at night - especially weekends.
   Crime. Tyre slashing - last Easter 10 cars had their tyres slashed.
   Mixed residents (male and female) creates "unseemly behaviour"
   Property decrease in value because the area is more "studenty".
8. Noise

No. 1 Selby Court, Selby Road

1. 0 - 1 years
2. 21 years - 30 years
3. Rents
4. Neutral "As long as they don't bother me that's fine".
5. Nothing
6. Nothing
7. Noise sometimes - but they're just students.
   A friend was evicted from Liesbeek Gardens after 12 years.
   They're sometimes drunk but that's not a problem.
8. Noise

No. 7 Rosecourt, Selby Road

1. 0 - 1 years
2. 0 - 20 years
3. Owns
4. Unhappy
5. Nothing
6. Nothing
7. Noise - music and shouting, at all times, up to 3am
8. Noise - as above

No. 1 Rosecourt, Selby Road

1. 4 years
2. 7+1 years
3. Owns
4. Very unhappy
5. Nothing
6. Nothing
7. Noise especially over weekends, from 12am to 5am. Shouting and screaming. Even wears ear plugs at night. Has phoned the police to complain but they can't do anything. She has "even phoned UCT but it made no difference".
8. Noise

No. 12 Rosecourt, Selby Road

1. 2 years
2. 21 years - 30 years
3. Owns
4. Very unhappy
5. Nothing
6. Nothing
7. Noise - music and screaming especially weekends, but 24 hours a day. Later said no, music does stop between 4am and 8am.

   Complaints - tried shouting across at 2-3am but no-one co-operates. The warden sorts out the problem 30% of the time. Has phoned the police but its UCT property so they can't do anything.

   Marches - because UCT Admin was forcing more students into the flats, students were left without a lounge and therefore decided to make life of residents unbearable by (more shouting), bang pots and pans, and marching up and down Selby Road. This it was hoped would force the UCT authorities to give the students back their lounge space. (This all happened 6 months ago).
8. Noise

No. 9 Rosecourt, Selby Road

1. 2 years
2. 0 - 20 years
3. Owns
4. Neutral
5. None
6. None
7. Noise over weekends and at night

   Drunken students at 2am
8. Noise

No. 11 Rosecourt, Selby Road

1. 0 - 1 years
2. < 20 years
3. Owns
4. Unhappy
5. Nothing
6. Nothing
7. Noise - music always full blast at night (8 till 3am). Especially weekends. Many people in the block are students and struggle to study.

   Safety - she does not feel safe at night.

   Crime - while cars have been stolen in the area, there is no official link up with Liesbeek Gardens although the cars are always found in black areas like Guguletu.

   Squatting - There are many kids and old people squatting in Liesbeek Gardens who should not be there. This is a student res after all.
8. Noise

No. 5 Rosecourt, Selby Road

1. 0 - 1 years
2. 21 - 30 years
3. Owns
4. Neutral
5. None
6. None
7. Noise, music at night till 5.30 in the morning
8. Noise

THE WIDER MOWBRAY / ROSEBANK & RONDEBOSCH STUDY AREA.

UCT UPPER CAMPUS

UCT MIDDLE CAMPUS

UCT LOWER CAMPUS

TABLE MOUNTAIN

RHODES DRIVE

DE WAAL DRIVE

TRAFFIC CIRCLE DRIVE

DE DIRKIE RD

FOREST HILLS STUDY AREA

FORREST HILLS

KENILWORTH RD

MAIN ROAD

CAPE TOWN

MOLSACK

OLIVE RD

MAIN ROAD

BELLS AVENUE

SETTLERS WAY

MAIN ROAD

GROOTE SCHUUR DRIVE

SETTLERS RD

MOWBRAY STATION

STRUBENS ROAD

DURBAN RD

WYNBERG

LIESBEEK GARDENS STUDY AREA

SELBY RD

LIESBEEK GARDENS

LIESBEEK PARKWAY

LIESBEEK RIVER

VREDENHUIST AVENUE

KLIPFONTEIN RD

LANDSEER RD

SETTLERS WAY

LIESBEEK PARKWAY

LIESBEEK RIVER

N

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 meters
SCALE

CAPE FLATS